

III

PREHISTORY OF SALADIN

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I. SALADIN IN WESTERN TRADITION

Very few political and military leaders—Napoleon being a notable exception—have been the object of such appreciation by their adversaries as was Saladin on the part of the Crusaders. The earliest of the European contemporaries may have deliberately blackened his reputation¹ but this was only a passing tendency for in the end the element of Saladin's "chivalry" eclipsed any other impressions and recollections.² Side by side with the generosity which Saladin showed, for example, after the capture of Jerusalem, there were more brutal moments in his life, as when he cut down Reginald Chatillon with his own hand. However, the European memory retained chiefly such features as his sending a charger to his enemy unhorsed in the

¹ They invented stories about his intrigue with the wife of his protector Nūr al-dīn and misrepresented his relations with the Fatimid caliph ("La Meule", *Arabice* Maulānā). See Gaston Paris, in *Journ. des Savants*, 1893; S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 1898, pp. 376-401: Saladin in romance. See now F. Gabrieli, "Storia della civiltà musulmana", Napoli, 1947, pp. 1-21: Storia e leggenda di Saladino.

² Speaking of the western lore G. Marçais says with understatement: "le rôle que (Saladin) y joue n'a rien d'odieux", Glotz, *Histoire du Moyen Age*, 1936, p. 594.

thick of the battle of Jaffa (1192).¹ Even Dante in his vision of the limbo whose dwellers suffer no punishment and are only deprived of beatitude, saw Saladin standing "alone and aside" among the ancient patriarchs, illustrious women and Greek philosophers.²

Collective memory is often an unreliable source of information, but as a rule it is less inaccurate about general impressions than about facts. The question of good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, is easier to answer than the problem of the grounds for the conclusions drawn.

To explain the gentler traits of Saladin's character the French invented the legend about Saladin's origin on the distaff side from a pretended comtesse de Pontieu.³ With more reason, on the Muslim side, one might argue that it was the court of Damascus which polished Saladin's manners. We should also concede that in the Islamic East there were fewer obstacles to rapid promotion and advancement than in the societies more conscious of social divisions. Yet the rise of an emigré Kurd to the position of the mightiest king of Islam had something exceptional about it—even if we reject some superficial and antiquated views on the Kurdish nation,⁴ which has produced more statesmen and writers than is usually imagined.⁵

¹ This gesture was attributed first to Saladin's brother 'Ādil, and then to himself. G. Paris, *l.c.*, 480. Cf. Lane Poole, *l.c.*, 353. Lane Poole himself, *l.c.*, 146, exults over the chivalrous restitution of 'Azāz to its former owners at the request addressed to Saladin by the young daughter of Nūr al-dīn, see I. Khallikān, IV, 507 (year 571/1176). But he is reticent on the episode of 581/1188: when the lord of Mausil sent his daughter and other ladies to sue for a truce, Saladin sent them back rather cavalierly (*bi-a'dhār ghayr-maqbūla*), I.A., XI, 337.

² *Inferno*, IV, 129: *e solo in parte vidi il Saladino*.

³ G. Paris, p. 355: "Saladinus Turcus sed de matre Gallica Pontiva".

⁴ Nöldeke, "Geschichte der Perser", 1879, p. 12: "Der Kurde war und ist der Inbegriff aller Unkultur".

⁵ M. Amīn Zekī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd* ("Kurdish celebrities"), Cairo, I (1945), II (1947).

There is a side to his ancestral influences which has not attracted the attention of Saladin's biographers, namely his family's close involvement in Caucasian and Iranian affairs. It does not explain everything in the character of the great Ayyubid but it helps us to understand the political and moral background of his amazing career. Saladin's pedigree does not go back beyond his father Ayyūb and his grandfather Shādī, his great-grandfather Marwān being only a vague shadow. Of the more remote ancestors of Saladin we know only that they were the followers of the Kurdish Shaddādids. It was Shādī who with his two sons left the ancient home in the neighbourhood of Dvin to seek his fortune in Mesopotamia. Only twenty years after the flight Saladin was born in Tekrit. Thirty years later he was appointed vazir to the Fatimid caliph, in succession to his uncle Shīrkūh who was the living link between the banks of the Araxes and the palm-groves of the Nile.

Our essay on the history of the Shaddādids has prepared the ground for a study of the Caucasian connections of the Ayyūbids and it is now time to approach the question of the Kurds of Azarbayjan and Arrān on the wider basis of contemporary events. Whatever were the ultimate destinies of the Ayyūbids, their roots undoubtedly go back to the period of the Iranian revival between the collapse of the Arab domination and the beginning of the Turkish invasions. The rise of the numerous Iranian dynasties in the 9th–11th centuries is one of the most impressive phenomena in the history of Iran. The coming into being of these ruling families was not an unmixed blessing for the country because it was accompanied by endless feudal clashes and a lack of stability in the administration, but politically the Iranian *intermezzo*¹ amounted to the breaking of the prescriptive rights of the conquerors. It was a respite on the threshold of

¹ As I called it in my *Domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932: *P'intermède iranien*.

the new conquest.¹ To some extent Saladin was a product of the epoch in which the Iranian tribes regained many of the lost positions.

Another important series of facts is the history of events centring on Dvin. Political life in the old home of the Ayyūbids was so intense that recollections of it could not have been obliterated by new experiences under new skies.

In view of the mass of facts with which we are confronted, it would be confusing to present them in one chronological stream. It is preferable to canalize them into separate series completing each other and throwing light on various sides of the prehistory of Saladin. For clarity's sake, some repetitions in the parallel chapters will be unavoidable.

2. THE IRANIAN *INTERMEZZO*

It is still insufficiently realised that the so-called Persian Renaissance in Khorasan² had a momentous sequel in Central and Western Persia and in Armenia. By the beginning of the 10th century a great Iranian movement came from the Caspian provinces. At the head of the hosts of Gilān and Daylam, a new set of rulers ousted the Arabs from their last positions held in Iran, and round this new power a fringe of other small principalities was created in the farther west of the Iranian territories.

Even when the Arabs adopted the system of indirect control of Armenia through the agency of the Bagratid princes (A.D. 806–1045),³ to the east of this autonomous area they retained the

¹ Had it not been for this interval of Iranian domination, the national tradition of Iran would have become blunted and the Safavids would have found it infinitely more difficult to restore the particular moral and cultural character which distinguishes Persia from her Muslim neighbours.

² As represented by the dynasties of the Tāhirids (821–73), the Saffārids (867–903) and the Sāmānids (875–999).

³ Royal title granted in A.D. 885. The branch of Kars ruled down to 1064.

system of direct rule in Azarbayjan and Arrān. To some extent this policy was dictated by the great rebellion of Bābak (201–23/816–37) in the eastern part of Azarbayjan. Bābak was captured and executed but there remained a number of important problems, political, social and national, as between the Arab conquerors and the local populations, such as the Armenians. The grip of the Abbasids was gradually weakening as shown by the centrifugal developments in the family of the last energetic rulers appointed from Baghdad, the Sājids.¹ Muhammad b. Dēvdād (276–88/889–91) and especially Yūsuf b. Dēvdād (appointed in 296/908) were powerful rulers and a formidable check on Armenia. However, soon after 299/911 Yūsuf showed signs of disobedience. He revolted openly in 305/917. In June 919 he was captured by the caliphs's troops and for three years remained in disgrace. He was re-instated in 310/923 but this time (down to 313/925) his attention was absorbed by affairs in Central Persia (Rayy, Hamadan). In 314/926–7 he received an assignment against the Qarmāṭians and on 7 December 927 lost his life fighting these dissenters. Practically the beginning of a new era in Azarbayjan can be dated from Yūsuf's disgrace. The stage vacated by the Arabs was occupied by local Iranian elements, the Daylamites and the Kurds.

The rise of the DAYLAMITE highlanders, inhabitants of the small and poor area above Gilan, reminds one of the expansion of the Northmen in Europe. In point of fact the Daylamites had an old dynasty of kings ("the family of JUSTĀN") who ruled

¹ The names Dēvdast, Dēvdād and the title Afshīn used in this Arabicised family suggest that originally it was of Soghdian origin. It would be interesting to discover some links between the Sājids and the famous Afshīn, the conqueror of Bābak. One of Afshīn's Central Asian followers was Muhammad b. Khālid Bukhārākhudāh whom he appointed governor of Armenia. Another of his generals was *Mnkjwr al-Farghānī*, see Ya'qūbī, II, 579. It is to him that the ford (and now an important dam) on the Kur must owe its name (Mingeçaur). Similar names are known in Central Asia: *Sīmjūr*, *Bānījūr*.

on the Shāhrūd, i.e., on the river which flows from the East and joins the Safid-rūd near Manjil. The MUSĀFIRIDS, or Kangarids, whose centre was Tārom¹ were linked by marriage ties with the Justānids but were a family apart. It must not be forgotten that the more important Daylamite princes, the BŪYIDS were upstarts who, with a crowd of other adventurers from Gilān and Daylam, appeared on the stage towards 308/920.² By 323/935 the sons of the Daylamite Būya were masters of Isfahan and Rayy. On 17 January 946 Baghdad was theirs, and for a century the orthodox caliphs became puppets in the hands of these heterodox usurpers.

The rise of the Būyids did not directly affect the north-western corner of Iran. Apart from a few expeditions into eastern Azarbayjan, the Būyids did not interfere with the affairs of this region. But the impulse given by them resulted in the rise of a number of local Iranian dynasties, partly Daylamite and partly Kurdish, both in Azarbayjan and in the adjoining regions of Transcaucasia and Armenia.

Thanks to the publication of Miskawayh's excellent *Tajārib al-umam* we now know much better the events in the lands between the Būyids' territories and Armenia, i.e., in the area under our consideration.

The original sedentary population of Azarbayjan consisted of a mass of peasants and at the time of the Arab conquest was comprised under the semi-contemptuous term of *'ulūj* ("non-Arabs")—somewhat similar to the *raya* (*ri'āyā) of the Ottoman Empire. The only arms of this peaceful rustic population were slings, see Ṭabari, III, 1379–89. They spoke a number of

¹ On the Safid-rūd, upstream from Manjil. See Minorsky, *Tārom* in the *Enc. of Islam*. For more details see Appendix.

² The contemporary sources distinguish between the Gēl (the Sunni lowlanders) and the Daylam (the Shi'a highlanders) but practically these two elements belonged to the same region and to the same wave of expansion.

dialects (*ādhari*, *tālīshī*)¹ of which even now there remain some islets surviving amidst the Turkish speaking population.²

It was this basic population on which Bābak leaned in his revolt against the caliphate. After the collapse of the Arabs and their Turkish generals, the same population came under the sway of the warlike Iranian clans and families. Despite their languages belonging to the common Iranian stock, the new masters, DAYLAMITES and KURDS, differed among themselves to a considerable extent. The Daylamites belonged to a particular blend of Caspian tribes, spoke a Caspian dialect, were attached to the Shī'a, were recognisable by their hirsute appearance and fought on foot, their arms being javelins (*zhūpīn*) and huge shields. The basic haunts of the Kurds lay to the south of Armenia. They spoke a more isolated Iranian language, they professed the Sunna (or the Khārijite doctrine) and they were horsemen. At a very early date the Kurds penetrated into Western Azarbayjan and even crossed the Araxes (see below, p. 123). There seems to have been a feeling that the Kurds, more permanently established in Azarbayjan, protected it against the later invaders from the Caspian provinces.

After the fall of the Sājids their former general DAYSAM ibn IBRĀHĪM struggled for supremacy in Azarbayjan during some eighteen years (327-45/938-56) with interruptions. He was a

¹ Now such dialects are usually called "north-western", but very probably they continue the Median tradition as opposed to the "southern", Persian, tradition. According to I. Hauqal, 249 (ed. Kramers, II, 347), in the neighbourhood of Mt. Sabalān (Savalān) near Ardabil, every village possessed a special dialect.

² This point has been clearly presented in Sayyid Ahmad Kasravi's excellent paper *Ādhari yā zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehran 1926, 56 pp. See also B. V. Miller, "On the language of Azarbayjan before its Turkicization" (in Russian) in *Ucheniye Zapiski*, I. 1929, 199-228. Cf. also E. Baer, "Zur Dialectologie Nordirans" in *Actes du XX-e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Louvain 1940, pp. 153-7.

Khārijite born of an Arab father¹ and a Kurdish mother, and his fighting force consisted chiefly of Kurds.

Daysam's first opponent was LASHKARĪ b. MARDĪ, a native of Gīlān supported by his countryman and former master, the Ziyarid Vushmagīr ("the Quail-catcher"). His conquest of Azarbayjan in 326/937 was a short-lived episode (I.A., VIII, 261). Much more important was the expansion of the MUSĀFIRIDS. As already mentioned, this Daylamite house, whose home was in Tārom, south of Ardabil,² was independent both of the Justānids and of the Būyids; its main operational axis was in the northerly and westerly directions. Under Marzubān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir, surnamed Sallār (330-46/941-57) the Musāfirids expanded not only over the whole of Azarbayjan and up the Araxes valley, but even into the eastern part of Transcaucasia (Arrān, Sharvān) and up to the Caucasian range. Both the Armenian royal houses, the Bagratids and the Artsruni were their tributaries.

When after Marzubān's death (346/957) quarrels arose among his successors, the dominions of the Musāfirids shrunk to the area near their original home in Tārom, while new masters appeared in Western Azarbayjan, namely the family of RAW-WĀD.³ Its eponym, Rawwād, was an Arab of the Azd tribe first mentioned towards 200/815 as a semi-independent ruler of Tabriz.⁴ After nearly two centuries of new occupations and invasions, we hear again of the masters of Tabriz and Marāgha bearing Iranian names (Vahsūdān, Mamlān, Aḥmadīl) but considered as descendants of a Rawwād. I have little doubt that

¹ Instead of Ibrāhīm, I. Hauqal, p. 236, calls his father *Shādlūya*, which is an Iranian name. Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 148: Ibrāhīm.

² See Minorsky, *Musāfiri* in *Enc. of Islam*. See below, Appendix.

³ See Minorsky, *Marāgha, Tabriz, Urmiya, Ushnā* in *Enc. of Islam*. See below, Appendix.

⁴ Tabari, III, 1171, Balādhuri, 131, I. Faqīh, 285, Yāqūt, I. 822. In Arabic *rawwād* from the root *rwad* would mean "quarter-master, scout" (usually *rā'id*, plur. *ruwwād*).

these new rulers were scions of the same old family although this time their family name, *al-Rawwādī*, is sometimes followed by a further qualification *al-Kurdī*.¹ Kasravi thought it preferable to distinguish between the old Arab *Rawwādī* and the later Iranian *Rawādī*,² and occasionally I make use of this suggestion.³ It would be only too natural for the Arabs stranded in Azarbayjan to have intermarried with local elements so that the term *al-Rawwādī al-Azdī* lost all practical meaning and had to be replaced by *al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī*. There are numerous examples of similar denationalisation among the chiefs of Kurdish tribes.

Between the two spells of *Rawwādī* domination in Tabriz lies a period (struggles with Bābak, Sājīd rule) when we hear nothing of the family's presence in that fief. Then suddenly in the list of Marzubān's tributaries (A.D. 955) we find an Abul-Hayjā b. Rawwād as lord of Ahar and Varzuqān. In this case "Rawwād" is not necessarily the father's name, but more probably only the designation of the family. The two points mentioned by I. Hauqal lie north-east of Tabriz.⁴ The identity of the earlier and later *Rawwādīs* appears also from the fact that, according to Ya'qūbī's *History*, p. 446-7, Yazīd al-Muhallabī, the governor of Azarbayjan on behalf of Abū-Ja'far (754-75) allotted to Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī a fief stretching from Tabriz

¹ Vahsūdān is a Daylamite name but Mamlān and Ahmadīl (cf. the name of a village near Marāgha: Mamadir < *Mamadil?) are hypocoristics unknown among the Daylamites. In *Mamlān* (< Muhammad) the passage *d/l* is Kurdish.

² Whose name Kasravi, III, 7, derived from the Kurdish tribe *Rawādī* (with a single *w*). See below. p. 129.

³ In a *qasīda* of Qaṭrān dedicated to Mamlān and quoted by Kasravi himself, II, 56, it is most definitely said that his *ḥasab* (descent on his mother's side?) is 'ajam (Iranian) and his *nasab* (descent on his father's side) Arab.

⁴ On the left tributary of the Ardabīl river which joins the Araxes from the south. Ahar is still the centre of the district of Qaraja-dagh (older *Maymad*), the hilly and wild tract to which, on the opposite northern bank of the Araxes, correspond the highlands of Qara-bagh (ancient Armenian provinces Artsax and Siunik?).

down to al-Badhdh (later Babak's stronghold). The possessions of the later Rawwādīs (Tabriz-Ahar) lay precisely along this line.

Very unfortunately, the *History of Āzarbayjān*, written by one of the family, Abul-Hayjā al-Rawwādī,¹ is now lost. It would have been useful to fill the gap between 369/979, the year in which Miskawayh ends, and 420/1029, when Ibn al-Athīr takes up the thread of events in Azarbayjan.

While the Rawwādīs² were controlling Azarbayjan, another Kurdish-dynasty issued from a SHADDĀD sprang up in the part of Marzubān's dominions which lay to the north of the Araxes.³ We have spoken of the Shaddādids in great detail and at this place we need only stress for memory the fact of their domination in Dvin and their close association with the Ayyūbids. We shall have further occasion to explain how the roots of Saladin's family go back to the Iranian *intermezzo*.

3. VICISSITUDES OF DVIN

(A)

The pre-history of the Ayyūbids is closely connected with Dvin, and the unusually checkered history of this city forms the peculiar background which shaped the character of the local population.

The town Dvin (in Arabic *Dabīl* or *Duvīn*, in Greek Δούβιος,

¹ See above, p. 4. Some unknown facts concerning the Rawwādī were borrowed by Mūnejjim-bashi from the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*. See Appendix.

² On the connection of Saladin's tribe with the Rawwādīs see below. The Rawwādī family can be traced down to the Mongol period. The vazir and historian Rashīd al-dīn married one of his sons to the daughter of Malik 'Alī b. Malik Muhammad-shāh b. Malik Pahlavān of the descendants of Amīra-Mimlān (*sic*), see *Letters of Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. by M. Shafī', Lahore 1947, p. 129.

³ *Grosso modo* this territory lying in the triangle between the rivers Araxes and Kur could be called Arrān, as opposed to Sharvān lying between the Kur and the Caucasian range. In point of fact the poet Qatrān in his panegyrics refers to the dominions of the Shaddādids as *Arrān*. See Kasravi, III, 19, 22, 24, 29. Arrān corresponds to Armenian *Alvānk*', Greek and Latin *Albania*.

Τιβρίον)—one of the numerous Armenian capitals—was founded in the 4th century A.D. by the Armenian Arshakid Khosrov II. Its unusual name may have been imported by the Arshakids from their original home in the present-day Turkman steppe, in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian.¹ When in A.D. 428 the Arshakid dynasty came to an end, Dvin became the seat of the Sasanian *marzpāns*.

The Kurds had come to live in the neighbourhood of Dvin at a very early date (see below p. 127), and the successive regimes (Armenian, Persian, Arab) did not entail the elimination of this element.

(B)

Under the Arabs² Dvin and Barda'a (Partav) formed the two bulwarks of the Arab power and administration.³ The state prison was in Dvin, and, according to R. Vasmer, the mint known as *Armīniya* also functioned in Dvin. This situation was little affected by the rise of the Bagratids whom the Arabs chose as their Christian trustees in Armenia. In A.D. 806 Ashot was appointed prince of Armenia but the limitations of his power are illustrated by the fact that in 813 Dvin was strongly occupied by the amir Jahhāf al-Sulami married to an Armenian princess. Jahhāf's nephew Sawāda was also married to an Armenian but he and his Christian allies were defeated by the new invader

¹ Minorsky, "Transcaucasica", *Jour. As.*, 1930, juillet, pp. 41-56. In the Turkman steppe near Astarabad there is a series of mounds with names ending in *-duvīn*.

² The conquest apparently took place towards 25/645, see Ghazarian, "Armenien unter der arab. Herrschaft", in *Zeit. f. arm. Philol.*, II/3, 1903, pp. 169, 173, 176, and Grousset, "Histoire de l'Arménie", 1947, p. 297, [According to Manandian, "Les invasions arabes en Arménie." in *Byzantion*, XVIII (1948), p. 167, Dvin was taken on Friday, 6 Oct. 640.]

³ A summary of the events in Dvin down to the beginning of the 10th century is given in an important *Excursus* in Marquart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 562-70, with references to the same author's *Streifzüge*, but the author's conclusions are not always acceptable. See now Grousset, *l.c.*, p. 342, etc., *passim*.

Haul (?) whose identity is still enigmatic. In A.D. 852 Mutawakkil sent a punitive expedition to Armenia under the Turk Bugha who wintered in Dvin and abducted nearly all the Armenian rulers to Baghdad.

Since the recognition of Smbat's son Ashot as prince of princes (*circa* 861) and later (886) as king of Armenia, Dvin was theoretically included in his dominions (Marquart, *l.c.* 302). Under Ashot's son Smbat-the-Martyr (890-914) the Muslim vassals grew restless, and it took him two years to capture Dvin ruled at that time by the brothers Muhammad and Umay (Umayya), of unknown lineage.

In December 893 a terrible earthquake destroyed Dvin (Tabari, III, 2139) and 70,000 people perished in the disaster. The Armenian catholicos, who till then had resided in Dvin apparently undisturbed by the Muslims, now left the town and took up his quarters in Nor-Kalak (Echmiadzin). One might think that the disaster would abate Muslim energy as well, but, instead, the danger to Armenia only increased. In 276/889 (or in 279/892?) the Sājid Muhammad Afshīn was appointed governor of Azarbayjan and immediately after the earthquake proceeded to occupy what remained of Dvin. He met with no opposition and, although his action led to a clash with Smbat, Dvin remained in his possession. Soon after he carried off Smbat's family and released them only after he had received in marriage a Bagratid princess.

Afshīn died in February 901 and before the year was over was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf, who was one of the most resolute enemies the Caucasian Christians have ever had to deal with. In 914 he tortured to death the Armenian king Smbat I who had surrendered to him. Yūsuf's allegiance to the caliph was doubtful even before he revolted openly in 305/917, see p. 111.

Smbat's son Ashot II had sought refuge at the court of the emperor Leo (886-92) but he returned some time after his father's death and in 915 was crowned king by the Bagratid of

Georgia, Adernarse. Against him Yūsuf supported his namesake cousin Sparapet Ashot who was also crowned and permitted to occupy Dvin. Only when Ashot paid homage to Yūsuf did the latter crown him. Ashot II led several expeditions against Dvin and finally forced his cousin to obedience. Strangely enough after the reconciliation of the two cousins we hear that Dvin still needed to be conquered. The cousins are said to have "subjugated the heathens under their hand". This was only wishful thinking for we soon hear of Dvin being occupied by the amir Sp'ki (or Spuk', Asolik, III, ch. 6). Quite a new situation arose in Azarbayjan after Yūsuf's revolt and deposition (in June 919).

The history of John Catholicos, who was the truthful witness of the events, ends in 925 but from another reliable author, Asolik (III, ch. 6), we learn that the emperor Romanus Lacapenos, in the second year of his reign, sent his Domesticus against Dvin. The amir Sp'ki, who was in the town, appealed to Ashot II. The siege was unsuccessful and the Greeks had to turn homewards.

The whole record of these events still awaits an adequate explanation. The amir Sp'ki is apparently that Subuk who had been Yūsuf's trusted servant¹ and who after Yūsuf's capture seized power in Azarbayjan. It was he who conferred on Ashot II the much appreciated title of *shāhanshāh*,² possibly as a consolation to the Armenian ruler whose opposition might be dangerous at a troublous time.³ As regards the reason of the Byzantine

¹ 'Arib, *Tabari continuatus*, 77 (Marquart).

² A century later the Būyids strove to revive this Iranian title.

³ There are two special and very good works on the Sājids: Defrémery, "La famille des Sādjides", *J. As.*, 1847, V, 409-46, and X, 396-436, and R. Vasmer, "On the coins of the Sājids" (in Russian), Baku 1927, 32 pp. Both these authors distinguish between Subuk who must have died not later than in 310/922, and Naṣr Subukī, or Subkarī (in John the Catholicos: *Naṣr Sarpuh*) whom Yūsuf, after his return, appointed his lieutenant in Armenia. Naṣr was soon recalled and left Bishr as his successor in Dvin. I wonder whether the name Subuk and Subkari should not be restored as *Sū-beg and *Sū-beg-ari?

intervention John Catholicos, tr. 326, speaks of a revolt of the governor of Uti appointed by Ashot II who intrigued with Gurgen "prince of princes of Gamirk" (Cappadocia)". Marquart, *l.c.*, 565, has ingeniously identified this prince with John Curcuas the *δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν* (the "Demeslikos" of Asolik). In any case this first appearance of the Byzantines under the walls of Dvin marks a date in the embroiled record of the city. It is clear that at a moment of confusion they were probing the defences of the Muslim might.

(C)

Yūsuf's re-appointment (923) did not affect the situation in Armenia and after his death (927) the Sājid family rapidly lost its fiefs. There was no longer any question of the caliph's appointing governors to Azarbayjan but only of his recognising the new Iranian dynasties which for a century, up to the Turkish invasion, had kept their flag flying. We have already explained the complicated pattern of the Iranian *intermezzo* and this will help us in tracing the efforts of the newcomers to expand their sway to Dvin.

We do not exactly know the moment at which the MUSĀFIRIDS became masters of Dvin. It is not clear who was the amir from whom Ashot's brother Abas (929-53) obtained the liberation of the Christian prisoners. Towards 937 some unidentified Muslim invader came *via* Nakhchavan, reached Dvin and defeated Abas. This may have been the first sign of the Musāfirid expansion. In the valuable list of Marzubān's vassals in 344/950¹ Dvin is not specifically mentioned. The explanation may be that Dvin was under the direct administration of Marzubān's son Ibrāhīm. During the disturbances caused by Marzubān's captivity Dvin was seized by two adventurers,² but they were turned out by a more important man, Ibrahim b. Daysam, who unexpectedly recovered power in Azarbayjan.

About the same time we see Muhammad b. Shaddād established

¹ I. Haug, 254 (ed. Kramers, II, 354).

² See above p. 34.

in Dvin as a protector of the population, only to be expelled by Marzubān when the latter returned to his dominions (see above p. 37). Marzubān died in Ramadan 346/Dec. 957, see Miskawayh, II, 166, and a long struggle for his succession opened between Ibrāhīm and his cousins. Some time about 369/979 a change came over in Azarbayjan and Ibrāhīm was imprisoned, most probably by the new masters of Tabriz, the Rawwādīs.¹

Muqaddasi, p. 377, who wrote in 375/985, in his rhymed prose praised "Dabīl" as a great town standing by an abundant river and possessing a fortress built of mud and stone, a suburb (*robaḍ*), a cross-shaped market and a cathedral mosque standing on a mound beside a church. Among its gates Muqaddasi mentions those of Kydar (K.ındar?), Tiflis and Ānī. The town was held by the Kurds, though the Christians prevailed in it. The author hints at the decrease of the population and the decay of the fortress.

At this period the history of the Shaddādids concentrates on their establishment in Ganja, and for events in Dvin our chief source is Asolik.

Under A.D. 982 the Armenian historian (III, ch. 12) relates that the Bagratid of Kars, Mushēl, incited "Ablhaj Delmastani, grandson of Salar" to invade the possessions of his nephew, king Smbat of Ani. This prince, whose name can be restored as Abul-Hayjā (b. Ibrāhīm) b. Marzubān² burnt the monastery of Horomosi and pulled down the cross of the Šoḷakat church. Then he attacked the eastern neighbour of Smbat, Abū-Dulaf al-Shaybānī,³ the lord of Golt'n (i.e., Julfā-Ordūbād) and

¹ Miskawayh, II, 231. See now Appendix, p. 167.

² Marzubān was known as Sallār (< *sardār*).

³ This amir of Arab origin (Shaybānī) cut a figure on the Araxes, see Asolik, III, ch. 13, and Kasravi, II, 105-9. He led an important raid into Vaspurakan (towards A.D. 984). Asadi dedicated to him his *Garshāsp-nāma*. It is not clear whether he was a relation of the Shaybānis of Sharvan. According to Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 101*-104*, a Muslim amir was appointed to Golt'n by the Sājid Yūsuf as early as A.D. 918.

Nakhchavan, but was defeated and had to surrender "Dvin and the other towns in his possession". In a further passage (III, ch. 29) Asolik blames Smbat for having given troops to Ablhaj and thus broken his pact with Abū-Dulaf, while the latter remained true to his word. Very probably Smbat wished to divert Ablhaj's attention from the West. The unfortunate Ablhaj wandered with his family from place to place in Armenia and Georgia, and even visited the court of the emperor Basil. He did not get any help and finally his servants strangled him in Olti.¹

Nor did Abū-Dulaf long enjoy his new acquisitions for in 987 (Asolik, III, ch. 18) he was attacked by "Ablhaj, son of Rovd, amir of Azarbayjan". The latter took from him "the towns of Salar", captured Dvin and obtained from king Smbat tribute for past years. These events suggest that the change was now complete and that the new RAWWĀDĪ ruler claimed the inheritance of the Musāfirids. *Abul-Hayjā* was a common title in those days in Azarbayjan, but the real name of the prince in question seems to have been Muhammad b. Husayn.² When he died in 988-9 and was succeeded by his son (?) Mamlān (Muhammad), Abū-Dulaf took advantage of this change to re-occupy Dvin and the Armenian king made with him a new "pact" of friendship.³ How long the new term of occupation by Abū-Dulaf lasted is unknown, but it stands to reason that the amir of Golt'n was a much lesser ruler than Mamlān. The latter's strength can be gauged by the two important expeditions which

¹ The text is equivocal; some authorities take it as referring to Mushēl, which goes counter to Asolik's text, III, ch. 12 (the heading) and ch. 17 (in which Mushēl's death is placed in 984-5).

² Miskawayh, II, 180 (under 349/960): the Musāfirid Vahsūdān urges Justān b. Sharmazan and *Husayn b. Muhammad al-Rawādī* to attack his nephew Ibrāhīm. See Appendix, p. 168 (a different version).

³ The treachery towards Abū Dulaf of which Asolik (III, ch. 29) accuses Smbat must refer to some "oath" taken *previously* to the attack of Ablhaj of Delmestan on Abū-Dulaf. Cf. Asolik, trad. Macler, pp. 53 and 136.

he led to the West¹ and which were stopped only by a full mobilisation of the Armenian and Georgian forces.

The Rawādīs² were Kurds, and the Hadhbānī tribe are several times mentioned as their supporters. It is tempting to think that the Rawādī clan to which Saladin's ancestors belonged came to Dvin under the aegis of the Rawādīs, or that they were local Kurds who became associated with the lords of Tabriz during the latter's expansion across the Araxes in the late eighties of the 10th century (see above p. 122 and below p. 157).

The later history of Dvin when the town came under the control of the Shaddādids has been set forth in the essays on the two branches of this dynasty. About 1118 Dvin became a kind of colony of the family of al-Aḥḍab of Arzen. The advent of these Turkish amirs most probably accounted for the exile of the Ayyūbid family to Mesopotamia (see below p. 131).

Then the Georgians grew strong and carried out repeated attacks on Dvin (in 557/1162 etc.) but the town did not immediately fall into their hands for it was captured by the atabeks of Azarbayjan who carried on the struggle with the Georgians.

Some entries in Vardan's chronicle show how complicated the situation was on the northern bank of the Araxes. Under 1177 he records the seizure of Ts'arak'ar by some brigands at the instigation of *Qaracha, amir of Kečror. Then Qaracha sold Kečror to Qizil-Arslan (son of Eldiguz) and the latter threw the local monks into jail.³ In 1182 Qaracha made for Dvin but soon was killed by the Shāh-Arman. In 1182 the people of Ani recaptured Ts'arak'ar, which was the hereditary possession (of the family?) of the lord Barsel. The Muslims were massacred, and

¹ The first to Bagrevand (Alashkert) and the second (in 998) to the northern shore of Lake Van, see Asolik, III, ch. 38 and 41.

² I have adopted here the vulgar pronunciation of the name in later times, see I. Khalikān and see above p. 115.

³ Kečror with the monastery of Ts'arak'ar lay in the neighbourhood of Ani, see St. Martin, *Mémoires*, II, 417 and 457. It seems to be identical with Keč'arus (see above p. 82).

the lord of Dvin, Ališer, went into mourning for his wife and his children.¹ One can guess that this 'Alī-Shīr was a representative of the amir of Azarbayjan who apparently controlled both Dvin and Kečror.

In 1203 Dvin was taken by the Mxargrdzeli brothers² and from the Georgian chronicle, I/1, 474, we learn that the queen used to spend her winters in Dvin. The Georgian occupation lasted till 1225, when Jalāl al-dīn defeated Ivane Mxargrdzeli and captured Dvin, but the Mongols were already at his heels.

4. SALADIN'S ORIGINS

(A)

The famous biographer Ibn Khallikān (A.D. 1211-82) made a special inquiry into the history of Saladin's family³ and came to the following conclusion⁴: 'Historians agree in stating that his father and family belonged to Duwīn, which is a small town situated at the farther extremity of Adharbayjan, in the direction of Arrān and the country of the Kurj (i.e., the Georgians). They were Kurds and belonged to the tribe of Rawādiya (sic) which is a branch of the great tribe al-Hadāniya (read: **Hadhbāniya*). I was informed by a legist (*faqīh*) who was a native of Duwīn and never said anything of which he was not certain, that near the gate of the town lies a village called Ajdanaqān, all the

¹ Vardan, *l.c.*, 160-3. Lord Barsel (Barsegh) must be the catholicos of Ani (1082-5), see St. Martin, *l.c.*, 441.

² Vardan, *l.c.*, 193, cf. Brosset, I/2, 270. Previously to the conquest of Dvin the Mxargrdzeli had carried out a raid on Dvin and on the way back had serious fights with the pursuers. Then the Russian husband of queen Tamar also raided the region of Dvin and returned with many prisoners, see Brosset, I/1, 415 (before 1193). Cf. S. Orbelian, tr. by Brosset, I, 222. Cf. *ibid.*, 497.

³ See his notices (translated by de Slane, 1842): I, 243-8, Najm al-dīn Ayyūb ibn Shādī ibn Marwān; I, 626, Asad al-dīn Shīrkūh ibn Shādī; III, 235: al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb; IV, 479-563: Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb ibn Shādī.

⁴ See also *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, III, 399, with a translation by de Slane, IV, 479.

inhabitants of which are Rawādiya Kurds, and that the father of Ṣalāḥ al-dīn was born there. Shādī went to Baghdad with his two sons, Asad ad-dīn Shīrkūh and Najm al-dīn Ayyūb, and thence to Tikrīt where they settled. Shādī died there, and his tomb with a cupola (*qubba*) over it is within the town. I have carefully studied their genealogy but have not found any mention beyond Shādī".¹ Other sources say much less and only stress the fact that Saladin's father was born in Dvin.²

We shall examine one by one the questions raised by the passage of Ibn Khallikān.

1. The sure point in this important statement is *Duwīn*, i.e., the early Armenian capital Dvin, later one of the key-points of the Muslim domination in the Caucasus.³ The position of Dvin should be sought on the left bank of the river Gaṛni (ancient *Azat*⁴ which flows into the Araxes to the east of the river Zanga (Hrazdan) on which Erivan is situated.

2. I have not seen it noticed that the native village of Saladin's ancestors Ajdanaqān should be identified with the Aždanakan which, some four centuries earlier, the Armenian historian

¹ Only as a curiosity Khallikān mentions the tree drawn up by an obliging *nassāba*, which goes up to Adam (*ḥattā intahā ilā Ādam*).

² See Bahā al-dīn in *Recueil*, III, 6; I. Athīr, XI, 225 (very brief) and Abul-Fidā (himself an Ayyūbīdī), *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiskē, III, 616 (nothing original).

³ See above chapter 3.

⁴ On the Russian 5-verst map three small villages bearing the name of Dvin are marked in this neighbourhood. Curiously enough one of them is called Dvin-Kurdakend. On the site of the ancient town see N. Y. Marr's archaeological reconnaissance near Ardashar in *Otchot Imperat. Arkheolog. Komissii za* 1899, St. Petersburg 1902, pp. 91-4; also N. Y. Marr, "Ani", 1934, p. 17. Manandian, *l.c.*, places Dvin near the village Artashar (whose site he distinguishes from the ancient Artashat, Artaxata, which lay nearer to the Araxes). In 1949 the government of Soviet Armenia decided to restore the ancient Dvin by uniting the villages standing on its presumed site. [The recent discovery of the ruins of the cathedral and the palace of the catholicos has permitted to pinpoint the site of Dvin, see K. G. Kafandarian, quoted in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1950, I, 151.]

Moses of Khoren places in the same neighbourhood.¹ The passage occurs in the fantastic story of the king Tigran, who in alliance with Cyrus is said to have crushed the Medians (*Mar* < Persian *Māša*). Tigran was first an ally of *Astyages (whom Moses calls *Aždahak*),² and gave him his sister *Tigranuhi*. Having unmasked the wiles of *Aždahak*, Tigran killed him and sent *Tigranuhi* back to Armenia. As to the first wife of *Aždahak*, called *Anuyš*, and ten thousand other prisoners, he settled them "beyond the eastern range of the great mountain (i.e., of Ararat) down to the confines of *Gołt'n*, that is in *Tambat*, *Oskiol*, *Dažguynk'* and in other palaces standing near the bank of the river (*scil.* *Araxes*), one of which called *Vranjunik'* is opposite the fortress of *Naxčavan*. He also assigned to them three boroughs: *Xram*, *Juła* and *Xošakunik'*, and on the opposite (i.e., left) bank, the whole of the plain from *Aždanakan* down to the fortress *Naxčavan*. Tigran settled *Anuyš* and her sons in a secure place wherefrom stretch (the traces) of the slide of the great mountain, said to have been caused by a formidable earthquake . . . As servants to *Anuyš* Tigran appointed the Medians (*Mar*) whom he settled at the foot of the said mountain." What is more important, Moses adds that the story was recorded in the "Historical songs" which were sung in *Gołt'n*; one of them told how, when *Artašat* was founded, *Artavazd*, son of *Artašēs*, "went forth and among the Medians (*Mar*) built *Marakert* in the plain called *Šarur*".³

¹ Moses of Khoren, I, ch. 30, Russian translation by N. O. Emin, Moscow 1893, p. 44.

² *Aždahāk* is a mythical Iranian name < Avestan *Aži Dahāka* "the dragon *Dahāka*". This name has nothing to do with the name of Astyages which in the cuneiform texts appears as *Ištuvegu*.

³ Hübschmann, *Arm. Ortsnamen*, p. 451, comments on this *Marakert*: "von den Medern gemacht"? Sachlich unwarscheinlich". On the contrary, the overflowing of the *Mar* (Medians, Kurds) to the northern bank of the *Araxes* was as natural in olden times as during the "Iranian *intermezzo*" (see above, p. 123).

This text is most remarkable for the accuracy of its geographical indications. The great chasm on the northern face of the Ararat is that of Akhuri. Tambat is one of the high valleys of the Lesser Ararat where in 1905 I found an ancient town lying in ruins. Julā is the well-known frontier point of Julfa. On the northern bank of the Araxes, Sharur lies to the north-west of Nakhchavan,¹ and Golt'n corresponds to the tract between Julfa and Ordūbād. Aždanakan² lying at the head of the plain must be located near where the Garni river emerges from the hills, i.e., in the neighbourhood of Dvin.³

3. There is no doubt that the term *Mar* (Medians) refers to the Kurds.⁴ In the time of Moses of Khoren there were no Medians in existence, but even now the Kurds continue to occupy the slopes of the Ararat. In the curious Armenian manuscript containing samples of alphabets and languages, written some time before A.D. 1446, a prayer in Kurdish figures as a specimen of "the language of the Medians (*Mar*)" and such a use of the term is still attested in dictionaries.⁵

¹ Shah Ismā'īl I defeated his Aq-qoyunlu enemies in Sharur. This district lies between Dvin and Nakhchavan.

² *Aždahā* + Arm. toponymic suffix *-akan*.

³ The *Nushat al-qulūb* (A.D. 1340) mentions an Ajnān among the boroughs of Nakhchavan, adding that it is also called *hārkhāna* ("works") because it possesses a copper mine. This place, however, should not be confused with Ajdanaqān. Brosset in his translation of S. Orbelian, II, 63, quotes a passage from Alishan's *Great Armenia*, 1855, §171: "Melri (Meghri), to the south of Zangazor (between Ordubad, the Araxes and the Akera river) contains the ancient canton of Balḵ, later called *Ajanan* and *Kajunik*". This Ajanān is then the famous mining centre of Kapan (now Kafan).

⁴ Minorsky, "L'origine des Kurdes", *Travaux du XX-ème Congrès des Orientalistes*, Bruxelles 1938, pp. 143-52.

⁵ A. Shanidze, "The newly discovered alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians" (in Russian), Tbilisi 1938. Shanidze quotes the dictionary of Avetikian, Sürmelian, Avgerian, Venice 1837: *mar* "a Kurd, a Shirvani". See "The Medians in ancient Armenia" (in Russian) in N. O. Emin's *Issledovaniya*, Moscow 1896, pp. 122-32.

When in 22/643 Ḥabīb ibn Maslama arrived in Ardasāt (**Artašat*) he "crossed the river of the Kurds (*nahr al-Akrād*) and descended into the plain of Dabīl (Dvin)", see Balādhurī, p. 200, Ṭabari, I, 2674. This stream can be only the Garni river, for according to a reliable Armenian source¹ the Arshakid Khosrov II (A.D. 381-9) planted a wood "from the solid royal castle of Garni down to the plain of Metsamor, down to the hill called Dvin and situated to the north of the great city of Artašat, and down the river to the palace Tiknuni". As already said, towards the end of the 10th century, the great Arab geographer Muqaddasi, 377, remarked that the Christians formed the predominant element in Dvin² but that the town was held by the Kurds (*yaḍbituhu al-Akrād*).

The whole story of Tigran and Anuyš is a legendary superstructure over the positive fact that in the neighbourhood of Ajdanaqān on the territory between the Ararat, Dvin and Ordūbād, there lived numerous Kurds, from times more ancient than has been usually assumed. Astyages (*Ištuvegu*) was confused by Moses of Khoren with Aždahak, and possibly the homonymy of Persian *mār* ("snake") with Armenian *Mar* ("Median") also contributed to the *imbroglio*, especially as some connection of the Kurds with Aždahak was hinted at even in Persian epics.³

4. We come now to Saladin's clan Rawadī (رَوَادِي) which according to Ibn Khallikan's reliable informant was a sept (*batn*) of the tribe Hadhānī. Although this name is carefully spelt out in this form (هَذَانِي), the older parallel forms⁴ guarantee the reading **Hadhbānī* (or *Hadhabānī*). This name is derived

¹ Faustus of Byzantium, III, ch. 8.

² Muqaddasi states with regret: *ma'a nublīhi* "despite the nobility (of the town)."

³ *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, I, 36: the Kurds are the descendants of the children whom the cook Armāyīl saved from the ravenous snakes which grew out of the shoulders of Zohhāk (< Aždahak).

⁴ Miskawayh, GMS, VII/6 (facsimile), p. 237 الهَذَابَانِيَة; Ibn Hauqal, 239 (ed. Kramers, 336): الهَذَابَانِيَة.

from the old geographical term for the region of Irbil (Arbela), which is preserved in the name of the Nestorian diocese, Adiabene (Hašayyaṣ).¹ The Hadhbani had their summer quarters near Ushnū (I. Hauqal) but their activities are recorded in Salmas, Maragha and other places of Azarbayjan.

There is always some uncertainty about the names of the Kurdish tribes as the original tribal name is often replaced by the names of the outsiders who succeeded in taking the leadership of the tribe. This apparently happened to some sections of the Hadhbānis, who came under the rule of the originally Arab families issued from Rawwād al-Azdī. In my opinion (see above p. 123), the clan to which Saladin's family belonged was somehow connected with the *Rawwādī* family whose name may have been simplified by non-Arabs into *Rawādī*.

At this point we have to straighten out another kink in the Ayyubid chart. According to the historian of the Kurds, Sharaf al-dīn, who wrote in 1005/1596, the Ayyūbids belonged to the *Ravanda* Kurds of Dvin (*Sharaf-nāma*, p. 55). This term is not found in the earlier sources, although a tribe of a similar name (*Ravand*, *Ravandī*) exists nowadays on the western slopes of the frontier range separating Ushnū from Ravānduz. It is possible that *Ravandī* is only a later mutilation of the former *Rawādī*, especially in view of the identity of their summer quarters with those of the old Hadhbānī (see above).²

And to sum up, there may have been successive waves of Kurdish migrations to the Araxes valley. The Kurds were there before the time of Moses of Khoren, but it is possible that after the Arab invasion some Hadhbānīs came to reinforce the original

¹ Ravānduz and Ushnū lie on the way from Irbil to Azarbayjan.

² The alternative would be to seek the origin of *Ravandī* in the castle Ravānduz, whose name has been connected by Sir H. Rawlinson with the ancient *Orontes* quoted in this region by Pliny, VI, 118. See *JRGS*, X, 1840, p. 23; cf. Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 1930, 393–6, but in any case Rawwādī (*Rawādī*) cannot be derived from *Orontes/Ravānduz*.

settlers. Finally, the existence of the Rawādī clan among the Kurds of Dvin is likely to be explained by some particular connection between them and the Rawwādī dynasty of Azarbayjan.

(B)

No historian has recorded the exact year in which Shādhī ibn Marwān, with his sons Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, left Dvin. We only know that they made for Baghdad at the invitation of Jamāl al-daula Mujāhid al-dīn Bihrūz b. ‘Abdullāh al-Ghiyāthī. The latter had been Shādhī's close friend in Dvin (?)¹ and at the time in question was acting as *shihna* of ‘Irāq. Bihrūz appointed Shādhī to be *dizdār* (commandant) of the castle of Tekrīt on the Tigris. As Bihrūz was "the master of Tekrīt" Shādhī had probably not too long to wait for the post which, strictly speaking, was not a government appointment. He died in Tekrit and was succeeded by Ayyūb. The first definite date in the Ayyubid Odyssey was the service rendered by Ayyūb to the ruler of Mosul. In 526/1132 Zangī b. Aqsunqur led an expedition against Baghdad to support the candidature of the Seljukid Mas‘ūd b. Muhammad b. Malik-shāh. In the battle which was fought near Tekrīt on the 2nd of March 1132 Zangi was defeated by the caliph's general Qaraja.² His retreat was facilitated by Ayyūb

¹ I. Khallikan, *l.c.*, I, 243. "An amir" with whose wife he was improperly familiar had him castrated and he left to take service with Sultan Ghiyāth al-dīn Mas‘ūd and rose to be tutor to his sons. This must have happened even before Mas‘ūd's accession to the throne (528-47/1133-52). I. Khallikān, IV, 481, says that Bihrūz was a Greek slave and had a fair complexion. The links of Bihrūz with Transcaucasia appear also from Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 51: reporting on the earthquake which shook Ganja in 534/1139 he says that two sons of the lord of the country Qara-sunqur (*Aq-sunqur?) were killed and "the castle was ruined which Mujāhid al-dīn Bihrūz had there (*hunāka*).” Immediately after this record the author speaks of a new canal (*sikr*) which Bihrūz built in the region of Nahrawānāt.

² The famous memoirist Usāma ibn Munqidh was an eye witness of the battle but his account of it has not come down to us, see H. Derenbourg, "Vie d'Ousāma", pp. 144-6.

who placed at his disposal boats for crossing the Tigris. This generosity to an enemy did not affect Ayyūb's appointment, apparently because of Bihrūz's links with Mas'ūd. Again in the following year 527/1133 Ayyūb showed his independence by refusing to surrender the former vazir, al-'Azīz, who was placed in his custody.¹ Bihrūz, "the master of Tekrit", had himself to visit the fortress to carry out the orders (in 527/1132-3). The brothers were turned out of Tekrit only when Shīrkūh killed a man (an *isfahsālār*?) who was abusing a weeping woman. On the night of their departure, the tradition says, Saladin was born in Tekrit, in 532/1138. The family sought the protection of Zangi and the atabek gave them a fief. In 533/19 August 1139 Zangi captured Baalbek and put Ayyūb in charge of this fortress (*mustahfiṣ*). After the death of Zangi (14 September 1146) Ayyūb ceded the fortress to the army of Damascus (October 1146) and took service with the Būrids. Meanwhile Shīrkūh joined Nūr al-dīn of Aleppo, and when the latter decided to dispossess the Būrids, Shīrkūh took part in the negotiations with his brother and Ayyūb peacefully surrendered Damascus to Nūr al-dīn in 549/1154. Ayyūb kept Damascus on behalf of Nūr al-dīn and Shīrkūh received Ḥims.² Soon after 550/1155 the Shaddādīd of Ani Shaddād, see above p. 88, came as an exile to the residence of the former vassal of his family, Shīrkūh. The latter died an old man in 564/23 March 1169 and Ayyūb followed him in 568/16 August 1173.

The first certain date in the history of the Ayyubids is 1132 and we should remember that in 524/1130 the cruel Qurti b. Tughan-Arslan wrested Dvin from Faḍlūn III who lost his life in the fighting. As the Ayyubids are repeatedly called close dependents of the Shaddādīds, it is most probable that, after the death of

¹ Al-'Azīz was the uncle of the historian 'Imād al-dīn who speaks with sympathy of Ayyūb ("a good Muslim") and of his brother Shīrkūh whose personal recollections he quotes, see al-Bundārī, 154, 163, 167.

² See Wiet, *Shīrkūh* in *Enc. Isl.*

the last energetic Shaddādid and in the presence of a brutal usurper, the position of the family became intolerable and this is the most likely explanation of the flight of Shādhī's family to Baghdad.¹ (See above p. 85.)

5. CONCLUSIONS

Six centuries ago the painstaking Ibn Khallikān gave up the task of finding the names of Saladin's ancestors beyond his grandfather Shādī b. Marwān. In fact the purely genealogical approach of a Muslim *nassāba* would not be conducive to any useful results. On the other hand, the brief survey of the Iranian *intermezzo* and of the events centring round Dvin has cleared up the background of the Ayyūbid family.

The corrections brought about in hitherto accepted views by our study will be best shown by quoting the opening page of a standard biography of Saladin:

"Ayyūb . . . belonged to the same great Aryan stock as ourselves, being neither Arab nor Turk, but a Kurd of the Rawadiya clan, born at the village of Ajdanakan near Dawin in Armenia. From time immemorial the Kurds have led the same wild pastoral life in the mountain tracts between Persia and Asia Minor. In their clannishness, their love of thieving, their fine chivalrous sense of honour and hospitality, and their unquestioned courage, they resembled the Arabs of the "Days of Ignorance" before Islam, or the Highland Scots before the reforms of Marshal Wade. They have ever been a gallant and warlike people, impervious as a rule to civilization, and difficult for strangers to manage, but possessed of many rude virtues. At least, they gave birth to Saladin. Of his more distant forefathers

¹ Samuel of Ani, *Recueil*, Doc. arméniens, I, 453, misunderstood the situation when he wrote that the cause of the exile was the poverty of the family and that in Tekrit Eyyub and "Shiraku" worked as water-carriers. He ends with the story of the prophetic dream of Ayyūb who saw flames flaring up from his loins, etc. The pronunciation and the meaning of *Shīrkūh* is not quite certain: it might be "the mountain lion" and one might think of *Shīrgōh* (*shēr-gūē*) in Kurdish "having the lion's ear."

nothing is known. His family is becomingly described by his biographers as "one of the most eminent and respectable in Dawin",¹ but even if true this is at most a provincial and limited distinction."²

In the light of the stormy history of Dvin, the frame of the "wild pastoral life" no longer suits the story of the Ayyūbid origins. To serve the Shaddādids was not merely to tend their herds, but to take part in the dangerous and agitated life of a border land, peopled by a mixed Christian and Muslim population and torn by continuous external complications.

To survive amid the clashes of local interests and foreign invasions one needed a perfect comprehension of the issues involved, and not in vain did the Byzantine historian recognise the strategical and political talents of Abul-Asvār I and his gift of penetrating the designs of his opponents (see above, p. 56).

On the witness of the historian Bahā al-dīn (Bundāri, p. 167) we know that Ayyūb and Shīrkūh were fully grown up even at the first stage of their migrations, in Tekrit. Chronology shows that in Syria their recollections of Dvin must have been still fresh, and the visit of their former master Shaddād (A.D. 1155) established a new link with their birthplace.

Nor was Saladin cut off from the Caucasus. After the conquest, of Jerusalem, Oriental Christians, and among them the Georgians approached him on various occasions. When on 15 May 1192 a Byzantine envoy requested Saladin to remit the Holy Cross (*ṣalīb al-ṣalabūt*) to the Emperor he was told that "the king of Georgia³ had already offered for it 200,000 dinars but the offer was declined (*fa lam yujab ilā dhālika*)". In the same year, after the signature of the peace with Richard Coeur-de-Lion (2 September 1192), a Georgian ambassador came to Saladin to discuss the question "of the places of pilgrimage (*al-ziyārāt*)

¹ See I. Khallikan, *Lc.*, I, 243, V.M.

² S. Lane-Poole, "Saladin", 1898, p. 4.

³ Probably queen Tamar (1184-1213).

which belonged to the Georgians in Jerusalem and of the buildings ('*imārāt*) appertaining thereto, which, as the Georgians complained, had been taken from their hands. They asked the Sultan to return them to their representatives".¹

Only on very general lines can we touch upon those specific events and that particular climate of Transcaucasia from the influence of which no responsible member of the community remained exempt in the multinational Dvin. Any contemporary observer had to draw his conclusions from the weakening of the caliphs's grip on Iran and the Caucasian lands, the tribulations of the Armenian kingdoms, the Iranian *intermezzo*, the Byzantine expansion, the advent of the Turks and after a time the rapid rise of Georgia, already on the upgrade of its meteoric career.

On the religious side, the Shī'a and its aberrations had little success among the Kurds, who mostly were Sunnis or Khārijites, and this formed a barrier between them and the Daylamites. Dvin lay close enough to the area saturated with the Isma'īlī propaganda² and, from the time of the Seljuk conquest, the Shaddādids and their subjects must have watched all the episodes in the struggle of their overlords with the successors of Ḥasan-i Šabbāh. In the attitude of the Ayyūbids towards the Fātimids there may have been a trace of their ancestral antipathy towards the policy of Alamūt.

The interests of the Muslims and Christians in Armenia were closely intertwined, and the representatives of the two rival religions had a good knowledge of their respective affairs. Now and then the crosses over the cathedrals would be pulled down but neither were the mosques immune from occasional

¹ Bahā al-din, III, 299, 330. It is known that the Georgians possessed important endowments in Jerusalem.

² According to Miskawaih, II, 32, the Daylamite Marzubān (330-46/941-57) was a *bātinī*. One can also remember that his rule extended over the territories to the north-west of Ardabil which were the cradle of Bābak's movement (201-223/816-38). [Ḥasan-i Šabbāh ruled in 970-1024.]

desecrations. The fact remains that churches and mosques stood side by side both in Dvin and in Ani.¹ There were cases of apostasy among the Christian nobility, but from Vardan we learn that one of Abul-Aswār II's sons became a Christian monk. The familiarity of the future qādī Burhān al-dīn of Ani with Christian scriptures is also a colourful detail. Generally speaking in the borderlands of mixed population, such as the region which has produced the Byzantine epics of Digenis and the Caucasian marches, the "religious fanaticism" was greatly moderated by the economic and practical requirements of life. No one would explain nowadays the opposition of the Muslims to the crusaders' imperialism by purely religious considerations.

Muslim-Christian marriages were frequent in Transcaucasia. One cannot enumerate all the cases of Georgian and Armenian princesses being given to the Seljuks, Sharvān-shāhs, Shaddā-dids, etc. But from queen Thamar's story we also know that several of her Muslim suitors made no bones about changing their religion, and it is an exaggeration on the part of Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 270 (year 620/1223) to qualify as "unparalleled" the record of the petty Seljuk king of Erzerum who authorised his son² to abjure the faith of his fathers in order to marry Thamar's daughter Rusudan. The Seljuk of Rūm Kay-Khusrau II was so much in love with his wife (Rusudan's daughter) that in 1236 he prepared to strike coins with her portrait, though finally he was persuaded to represent her less objectionably, from the Islamic point of view, as a sun rising from behind a lion.³

¹ Muqaddasi, 380 (Dvin); N. Y. Marr's excavations in Ani.

² Cf. also Nasawi, *l.c.*, 174.

³ Abul-Faraj, *Historia dynastiarum*, ed. Pococke, 1663, p. 487. This was the prototype of the modern Persian emblem, see Kasravi, *Tārīkhcha-yi shīr-u-khurshīd*, Tehran 1309/1930. Generally speaking many coins of the time bore portraits of Muslim rulers, see the coins of Kayfā, Mārdīn, Arbīl, and Mausil, in S. Lane Poole, *Saladin*, p. 194.

If such was the atmosphere of the Muslim-Christian relations, in the sphere of "chivalry" the Ayyūbids could also remember some cases of the Caucasian practice with its succession of battles and oaths of good-neighbourship, its ostentatious hospitality and rigid *points d'honneur*. We know of the amir Saltuq, who at the risk of endangering the campaign of his co-religionists refused to break the promise given to king Dimitri, and equally notable are king Giorgi's readiness to accept the intercession of the good vazir of Mausil or the release of the captive amir of Arzinjan by queen Thamar for the token offering of a horse-shoe.¹ [Cf. below, p. 157].

In a word, Saladin's father and uncle did not come to Iraq and to Syria as semi-barbarous shepherds used to the daylong watching of flocks from some distant crag. They brought with them recollections of a whole system of politics and behaviour. Even now the Cherkes in Syria and Egypt honour some of their ancient customs, and the period separating them from the Caucasus is longer than was the time between the flight of Shādī and the rise of Saladin.

We come now to the less hypothetical ground of facts indicating the direct connection of the Ayyūbids with their Iranian countrymen and their interest in their ancient home.

The evidence on the cultural side is naturally weak. Like the Latin of the crusaders, Arabic was the official language of their opponents. Several Ayyūbid princes, enumerated in Abul-Fida, were writers in Arabic. However, many Kurds in Mesopotamia were also poets, theologians and jurists using Arabic as their tongue, yet surely this circumstance did not destroy the natural affinities linking the Kurds especially when they live amidst heterogeneous elements. Some Iranian romanticism can be detected in such names borne by the Ayyūbids, as Tūrān-shāh (several princes), Shāhan-shāh, Bahrām-shāh, Farrukh-shāh,

¹ See Brosset, I, 463. Probably the Mangujakid 'Alā al-dīn Dā'ūd II ibn Bahrām-shāh.

although such names were equally common among the Turkish dynasties whose links with their tribal organisations had become loose (Seljukids of Rum, Zangids of Maasil, etc.). More interesting is the fact of an Arabic translation of Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma*. It was completed in 621/Oct. 1224 by the well-known writer Fath b. 'Alī al-Bundārī, a native of Isfahan, on the orders of the king of Damascus al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-dīn 'Īsā.¹ One cannot say whether Ayyūb's grandson could not read Persian,² or whether his desire was to impress the Arabs with the *hamāsa* of the ancient Iranians.

Much more important were the presence of large contingents of Kurds under Saladin's banners,³ and the high positions reached by several Kurdish amirs in the military and civil organisation of the Ayyūbids. The facts referring to them will be found in Annex A.

It would be an anachronism to seek "nationalistic" tendencies in the twelfth century A.D., but just as the French and the English crusaders were *conscious* of their differences, so the Kurds naturally felt theirs with regard to the Turks. In this respect one story in Ibn al-Athīr is particularly interesting.⁴ After the death of Shīrkūh in 564/1169, four important amirs, who were eagerly expecting to take his place, were displeased to hear that the Fatimid caliph had appointed Saladin as his vazir. The opposition was cleverly broken by the *faqīh* Diyā al-dīn 'Īsā (a Hakkārī Kurd). He told his countryman Sayf al-dīn al-Mashtūb al-Hakkārī that his rivals would not tolerate his

¹ *Al-Shāh-nāma*, edited by Prof. Abdul-Wahhāb 'Azzām, Cairo 1350/1932; 108 (Introduction) + 389 + 343 pages. See Introduction, p. 94.

² According to Ibn Hauqal, 250, most of the people of Armenia knew Persian. Armenian was spoken in Dvin and Nakhchavan. It was in Persian that the qāḍī Burhān al-dīn of Ani composed his book, see above p. 80.

³ On many occasions one finds mentioned the Hadhbani, the Zarzārī (now Zarzā in Ushnū), the Hakkārī, the Humaydī, the Mihrānī, etc.

⁴ I. A., *Ta'rīkh al-Atābakīya*, p. 255; I. A., *al-Kāmil*, XI, 226; I. Khallikān (de Slane), IV, 495.

advancement. He pointed out to Saladin's maternal uncle, al-Ḥārimī,¹ how shortsighted it would be to compete with one's nephew. To Qutb al-din Yinal al-Hadhbānī he said "both you and Saladin are Kurds and you will not let power pass into the hands of the Turks". Only the fourth amir, the Turkman 'Ayn al-daula al-Yārūqī remained obdurate to Diyā al-din's diplomacy.²

It was a great merit of Saladin's policy to keep his Muslim warriors in proper balance, for we never hear of considerable clashes between his Turkish and Kurdish supporters.³ The fact that there was a possibility of tension among them is supported by the letter which was addressed to Saladin in July 1192 by the governor of Jerusalem Abul-Hayjā al-Hadhbānī (a Kurd). He wrote that after the disastrous fall of 'Akkā the garrison of Jerusalem was hesitant about the defence of the Holy City: "so send us someone of your family round whom we should rally, otherwise the Kurds will not believe in the Turks, nor the Turks in the Kurds". Saladin hastened to send his nephew Majd al-dīn to Abul-Hayjā's help.⁴

A still more striking fact is the tendency of the Ayyūbids to set their foot on the Armenian plateau. Khilāt greatly attracted Saladin's attention but only in the next generation was this dream realised. The Ayyūbids established a conjugal link⁵ with the Kurdo-Armeno-Georgian family⁶ ruling in Ani and the energetic lieutenant of Malik al-Ashraf crossed the Araxes and

¹ The *nisba* sounds Arabic, in which case Saladin's mother may have been an 'Irāqī lady.

² On Yaruq b. Arslan al-Turkmānī see I. Khallikān, IV, 1.

³ What danger was thereby conjured up is clear from I.A.'s record (XI, 342) of the events of 581/1185. A trivial incident started a terrible carnage between the Turkmans and the Kurds which lasted several years in a vast area from Azarbayjan to Upper Mesopotamia, see in great detail Michel le Syrien, *Recueil*, Documents arméniens, p. 395.

⁴ Abū-Shāma, *Recueil*, V, 59.

⁵ On the Mkhargrdzeli family see above, p. 101.

.....

nearly reached the ancient home of Ayyūb and Shīrkūh. This little known episode has been treated in Annex B. More than anything else it stresses the atavistic undercurrent in the Ayyūbid policy, which it has been our task to underline. This does not mean that the author of the present essay pretends to deny the other well-established sides of Saladin's activities. His only wish is to clear up the family tradition of the Ayyūbids and thereby to give more reality to the figure of Saladin who was not only a protagonist of Islam but also a defender of the Near East against foreign intrusion.

ANNEX A.

Notes on Kurds under the Ayyūbids

In speaking of the Kurdish families active under the Ayyūbids we should first of all consider the Ayyūbids themselves, with their innumerable branches issued from Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, but this is a task for some future investigator. Each of these rulers must have been a centre of attraction for his countrymen from beyond the Tigris. In the present section we shall only put together some material on the role of the Kurds in the central army and administration of the Ayyūbids.

The following two tables based on Bahā al-dīn, III, 140 and 197, illustrate the battle-array of Saladin's army during the momentous operations under 'Akkā and thus throw a light on the composition of the Ayyūbid high command.

I. The battle of 21 Sha'bān 585/4 Oct. 1189.

(a) The centre (*qalb*) was occupied by Saladin who was moving about the lines and encouraging the warriors. Actually the leader of the centre was 1. the *faqīh* Diyā al-dīn 'Īsā al-Hakkārī with his men (*jam'uhu*).

(b) To the right of the centre (*maymanat al-qalb*) were

2. the princes Afdal and 3. Zāfir, sons of Saladin.

4. the army ('*askar*') of Mausil commanded by Zahir al-din b. al-Balankari.¹

5. the army of Diyār-Bakr commanded by Qutb al-din, lord of al-Ḥisn.

6. the lord of Nāblus Ḥusām al-din b. Lachin.

7. *al-ṭawāshī* Qiymaz al-Najmī, with great masses of troops, joined the right wing.²

(*b-bis*) At the extreme right (*fī ṭarafihā*), where it touched the sea, was

8. Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-din (of Harrān?) with his army.

(*c*) To the left of the centre were

9. Sayf al-din 'Alī al-Mashṭūb, one of the greatest Kurdish maliks, and 10. the amīr Mujallī, together with a formation of Mihrānī and Hakkārī Kurds.

11. Mujāhid al-din Burunqash (?), leader of the army of Sinjār, with a formation of *mamlūks*.

12. Muzaffar al-din b. Zayn al-din (of Arbil?) with his own troops (*bi-ḥaṣṭihī wa 'askarihi*).

(*c-bis*) On the extreme left were the most important of the Asadī *mamlūks*:

13. Sayf al-din Yāzk.j (*Yaz-Kech?) and 14. Arslan-Bugha with the Asadī formation.

The royal princes were Nos. 2, 3 and 8. The armies of the eastern vassals were led by Nos. 4, 5, 11(?) and 12. No. 6 was a governor issued from Turkish *mamlūks* (?). The names of Nos. 7 and 8 accompanied by the names of their former masters show that they were Turkish *mamlūks*; as for the term *ṭawāshī* it is used in Arabic for "eunuchs" but it is quite likely³ that in this

¹ This *nisba* indicates some earlier connection with the town Balanjar in the northern Caucasus (in the old Khazar territory).

² Barbier de Meynard translates "à l'extrémité de l'aile droite".

³ Cf. Mongol *daghudaqchi* "public crier", see J. Deny, *Jour. As.*, July 1932, p. 160, and Minorsky, BSOS, X/1, 1939, p. 163. The semantic connection of the words *tavachi/tawāshī* is still obscure.

case it represents Turkish **tavachī*, a high staff officer responsible for transmitting orders and assigning the places of the commanders on the battle-field. Nos. 13 and 14 too were obviously Turkish mamlūks.

The Kurdish tribal troops (Mihrānī, Hakkārī) were under the command of Nos. 9 and 10, of whom Sayf al-din was a very influential man (see below, p. 144). It is curious that Saladin's lieutenant in the centre (No. 1) was also a Hakkārī Kurd (see below) who combined learning with diplomacy and military talents.

Thus out of 14 commanders, three were Ayyūbid princes of Kurdish origin, and another three, Kurds, — two of the latter commanding tribal units.

II. In the second battle (586/1190) the disposition of the troops was as follows:

(a) In the centre were Saladin's guards (*al-ḥalqat al-sulṭāniya*) among whom 1. Ayaz al-Tawīl and 2. Sayf al-dīn Yazk.j particularly distinguished themselves.

(b) Right wing:

3. Princes al-Afdal of Damascus and 4. Zāhir junior of Bosrā, both sons of Saladin.

5. Khorram-shāh and 6. Malik al-ʿĀdil, both sons of the lord of Mausil ʿIzz al-dīn.

Further to the right stood 6. Ḥusām al-dīn b. Lachin, 7. *al-ṭawāshī* Qiymaz al-Najmī and 9. ʿIzz al-dīn J.rdik al-Nūrī.

Still further to the right were: 10. Ḥusām al-dīn Bishāra, lord of Banyās, 11. Badr al-dīn Dldrm (**Doldurum?*), lord of Tell-Bāshir, and a great number of other amirs.

(c) Left wing:

12. ʿImād al-dīn Zanki, lord of Sinjār (actually absent) and his nephew 13. Muʿizz al-dīn Sanjar-shāh, lord of Jazīrat-ibn-al ʿOmar (who had recently deserted the army but had just been persuaded to come back) and 14. Taqī al-dīn, another nephew of No. 12 (?).

(c-bis) Extreme left:

15. Sayf al-dīn 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Mashtūb with all the Mihrānī and Hakkārī forces, as well as 16. *Khushtarīn and other Kurdish amirs.

Most of the commanders in list II had been mentioned in list I and we shall mark with an asterisk those who are mentioned for the first time. The royal princes were Nos. 1 and 2; the eastern vassals: Nos. *5, *12, *13 and *14 (all of the Mausil family); the Syrian fief holders, Nos. 6, *10 (an Arab?) and *11 (a Turk?); the mamlūks, Nos. 7 and *8; the Kurds Nos. 15-16.

It is not easy to speculate on the composition of the troops under the other commanders (even though admittedly the Turkmans prevailed among them) but the Kurdish troops had definitely a clannish organisation. As in the second battle the number of commanders on the right flank was much more considerable than on the left flank, we might perhaps surmise that the Kurdish units introduced into the fight were numerically stronger.

Supplementary to the analysis of Bahā al-dīn's passages it will be useful to sum up the information on some tribal Kurdish families whose names continually appear in the historical works but whose genealogies will require a closer examination in future.

(a) The Ayyūbids belonged to one of the clans of the Hadhbānī tribe, which originally was connected with the region of Arbīl (ancient Adiabene) and later (during the Iranian *intermezzo*) overflowed into Azarbayjan and even across the Araxes. One of the oldest traces of the Hadhbānī's connection with Arbīl is the record in Ibn Khallikān, III, 419, that the 'Uqailid ruler of Mausil al-Muqallad (386-91/996-1001) was married to a daughter of the ruler of Arbīl Abul-Hayjā al-Hadhbānī. It is probable that the ruler of Arbīl Abul-Hayjā b. Mūsak whose name is often quoted in the Seljukid times¹ was a descendant

¹ I.A., X, 176 (489/1096), X, 292 (500/1106-7), X, 320 (502/1108-9), X, 340 (505/1111-2), X, 378 (512/1118), X, 450 (520/1126).

(grandson?) of the earlier Abul-Hayjā. Since 539/1144 Arbil was held by the Turkman dynasty issued from Beg-tegin and the old Kurdish chiefs must have sought employment under new skies. Under 570/1174 we hear of Ḥusām al-dīn Abul-Hayjā (surnamed *al-samīn* for his unusual fatness) holding a fief in Upper Egypt which was granted to him by Saladin. In 578/1182 he received Nisibīn but very soon lost it in view of the inhabitants' complaints. In August 1189 Saladin managed to introduce him into 'Akkā already besieged by the crusaders. As the commander of the garrison he stayed there till the new interruption of the siege in the beginning of 587/1191. In 587/1191 he brought to Saladin the much needed reinforcements from Egypt. After the death of his master, Abul-Hayjā became involved in the struggles of the diadochs and in 591/1195 lost the governorship of Jerusalem. He left Syria and went to Mausil and two years later to Baghdad. The caliph sent him against the atabek of Azarbayjan Özbek, who by that time had occupied Hamadan. Despite his monstrous obesity¹ Abul-Hayjā displayed much energy on this new ground and captured Özbek and his associates. The caliph was alarmed by his forceful methods and bade him return. On his way to his native Arbil he died in Daqūqā in 593/1197.

Abul-Hayjā must have been a merciless man but all the sources praise his courage. Saladin appreciated his reliability and he was considered as the senior amir with the rank of *ispahsalār*. Bahā al-dīn, III, 205, speaks of him with much esteem and adds that he was the leader of his tribe (*taqaddama fī 'ashīratihī*). All historians call him Hadhbānī but on two occasions Ibn al-Athīr says that he was "of the *Kh.ṭi* (or *Ḥkmi*)" Kurds which may be the name of his particular clan.²

¹ According to the Supplement to Abū-Shāma quoted by E. P. Goergens, *Arabische Quellen*, 1879, I, 39, extra size bowls fabricated in Baghdad were called *Abul-Hayjā* in honour of al-Samīn.

² See I.A., XI, 273, 318, 322, XII, 22, 36, 48, 77, 81-2.

Somewhat later we hear of Sayf al-dīn 'Alī b. Abī 'Alī Hadhbānī who acted as the lieutenant (*nā'ib*) of the lord of Ḥamā, see Abul-Fida, IV, 404 (year 631/1233) and IV, 445 (year 637/1239), and of his brother Husām al-dīn b. Abī 'Alī who was governor in Damascus in 644/1246, *ibid.* IV, 485.

(b) The second Kurdish family which played an important role under Saladin was connected with the vast tract of Hakkārī on the upper course of the Great Zāb.

The central figure in the family was Sayf al-dīn Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī, son of Ahmad, son of Abul-Hayjā, son of 'Abdullāh, son of Abū Khalīl, son of Marzubān al-Hakkārī. Sayf al-dīn was commonly known as *al-Mashṭūb* ("le Balafre" of the European chronicles). His grandfather who bore the *laqab* of Abul-Hayjā, popular among the Kurds, was the lord of the castle of 'Amādiya. It looks as if this family home had been lost under the prevailing atabeks of Mausil who pursued the policy of penetration into Hakkārī. This must have led to the appearance of the family and its numerous clansmen in Syria.

Sayf al-dīn was one of the candidates to take up Shīrkūh's succession in Egypt but was persuaded to recognise Saladin's preferment (see above p. 137). In 581/1185 he took part in his expedition against Mausil and Saladin assigned to him the task of laying siege to Jazīrat-ibn-'Omar, probably using him as a rallying point for his tribesmen. In fact many Hakkārī Kurds gathered round him (I.A., XI, 337), but Saladin had to give up the campaign. During the siege of 'Akkā Sayf al-dīn was actively engaged in supplying Muslim troops through Sidon and in the beginning of 587/1191 was appointed to the responsible post of commander of the garrison within the fortress besieged by the crusaders. 'Akkā was in its throes. Sayf al-dīn went out to meet the French king but the latter insisted on an unconditional surrender. There began desertions from the fortress. Saladin could not break the ring of the siege. 'Akkā fell on 17 Jamādī II 587/12 July 1191. While the question of ransom was being

discussed, the crusaders massacred the entire garrison, except the amirs and the rich, for whom they hoped to receive a ransom, see I.A., XII, 44. Sayf al-din was closely guarded but he escaped and unexpectedly appeared before Saladin on May 15 1192 and Saladin "rose and embraced him in utter joy", see Bahā al-dīn, III 295, I. Khallikān, I, 163. Sayf al-din took an active part in the negotiations with the crusaders and Richard Coeur-de-Lion chose as his go-between a special friend of Sayf al-din's. Bahā al-dīn mentions Sayf al-dīn immediately after the royal princes at the signature of the peace on 29 Sha'bān 588/2 September 1182. Sayf al-din received Nābulus as a fief but his harsh methods provoked complaints from the population. He died on 6 November 1192.

All the sources agree in extolling him as one of the great amirs and praise his courage, see Bahā, III, 83, 231, but the story of the capitulation of 'Akkā shows that he was prone to act too independently. This feature was much more conspicuous in his son 'Imād al-dīn Aḥmad to whom Ibn Khallikān, I, 62-6, dedicated a special notice praising his highmindedness and generosity and adding that he was greatly respected by his contemporaries ("especially the Kurds", says the historian). This "ibn al-Mashtūb" was born in 575/1179 and at the time of his father's death was only thirteen years old. He was granted two-thirds of the revenue of Nāblus and under Malik al-'Ādil his career proceeded happily. Under al-Kāmil the situation changed. At the moment when the crusaders were besieging Damietta, 'Imād al-dīn plotted to depose his master and put on the throne his brother al-Fā'iz. Kāmil had to leave the front suddenly by night and the Franks easily captured Damietta in 616/1219. The situation was restored by the appearance of Kāmil's brother al-Mu'azzam and 'Imād al-din had to seek refuge with al-Ashraf. The new master befriended him but in a short time 'Imād al-dīn's intrigues stirred up trouble in Upper Mesopotamia (616-8/1219-20). After many adventures 'Imād

al-dīn was captured by Badr al-dīn Lu'lu' of Mausil and surrendered to Ashraf in whose dismal prison in Harrān he died in Rabi' I 619/May 1222, see I.A., XII, 211-4.

(3) The third prominent statesman in Saladin's administration was the *faqīh* Diyā al-dīn 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Hakkārī. I. Khallikān, II, 431, enumerates thirteen generations of his ancestors. He began his career as imam to Shīrkūh. He played an extremely important part in securing Saladin's success on his first appointment (see p. 137) and became one of his most influential advisers. He spoke to his master "in terms so unceremonious that no one else would have dared to use them". Both he and his brother Majd al-dīn 'Omar used to wear the turban of the *faqīh* combined with military accoutrement and we have seen that in a great battle near 'Akkā Diyā al-dīn acted as Saladin's lieutenant in the centre of the army. He remained in favour till his death in 585/1189.¹

The above stray notes do not detract from the importance of the other elements in Saladin's administration, such as his trusted Turkish mamlūk warriors, his Arab counsellors (like the qādī Fādīl,² the historian Bahā al-dīn, etc.) and his powerful vassals of Mausil and Upper Mesopotamia.³ Our object has been to combine the little known facts on the close support Saladin received from his Kurdish countrymen.

ANNEX B.

The eastern expansion of the Ayyūbids

The policies of Saladin and his successors to the east of the

¹ The commander of the troops of Ashraf which took part in the defeat of Jalāl al-dīn in 627/1230, was a valiant Hakkārī Kurd, called 'Izz al-dīn 'Omar b. Ali, see I.A., XII, 320.

² On him see A. H. Helbig, *al-Qādī al-Fādīl*, Berlin 1909.

³ See now H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, III/4, May 1951, 304-20, in which the lack of discipline among the Kurds is stressed in notes 16, 35 and 64.]

Euphrates¹ would merit a special study but our object is only to illustrate their tendency to take a firm stand on the Armenian plateau.

Saladin's own campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia achieved no glory for him. The siege of Mausil was unsuccessful both in 578/1182 (I. Athīr, XI, 319) and in 581/1185 (I.A., XI, 336). Strangely enough it was only when Saladin fell ill and was in Harrān on his way back to Syria that a successful peace treaty with the atabek 'Izz al-dīn was signed. By this *qā'ida* the ruler of Mausil acknowledged himself Saladin's vassal with the obligation to read the *khutba* and strike coins in his name. 'Izz al-dīn retained most of his dominions, but he had to cede to Saladin the easternmost region comprising Shahrāzūr with its dependencies, the *wilāyat al-Qarabulī* (north of Shahrāzūr, on the Lesser Zab) and in general all the country beyond the (Upper) Zab. Thus Saladin's rule was extended over southern Kurdistan and temporarily he became a neighbour of the atabeks of Azarbayjan. Soon after Saladin's successes in Syria brought to his door many vassals from the East and we hear of some appointments made by Saladin in that remote region.²

During the second campaign in Mesopotamia there was an episode which had a more permanent sequel in the later years. The news of the death of the Shah-Arman, lord of Khilāt, reached Saladin when he was under the walls of Mausil. Saladin

¹ From these regions Saladin obtained a very substantial accretion to his forces.

² In Shahrāzūr Saladin first appointed a *Turkish* slave named Kesh-toghdī. Five years later the Ayyūbid administration became only indirect for in 586/1190 Saladin granted Arbil, with the addition of Darband-i-Qarabulī and (the lands of) Banū-Qifchaq (I.A., XII, 37), to Muzaffar al-dīn Kōk-būri. [Qifchaq b. Arslan-tash was a Turkman chief who had grown very powerful in Shahrāzūr. Fearing that he might submit to the Seljukid Sultan Mas'ūd the atabek Zangī of Mausil defeated him in 534/1139-40, after which he and his sons remained in the obedience of Mausil till about 600 A.H., see I.A., *Ta'rikh al-Atabākiya*, 102, and I.A., XII, 50.]

received several letters inviting him to Khilāt and some amirs advised him to avail himself of this opportunity. Saladin left for Khilāt *via* Mayyāfāriqīn, while his advanced troops had already reached the south-western tip of Lake Van (at **Taṭwāna*, i.e., Tadvan). But events in Khilāt marched even swifter. Immediately after the death of the Shah-Arman the power was seized by his mamlūk Begtimur. In the meantime the atabek of Azarbayjan Muḥammad Pahlavān, who had betrothed his daughter to the infant son of the late ruler of Khilāt, arrived on the spot. Bektimur hastened to read the *khuṭba* in the name of Pahlavān. The Ayyūbids did not proceed any further, nor did the atabek press any harder his claims on Khilāt.¹ Both Ibn al-Athīr (who at the time was in Mausil, XI, 337) and Bahā al-dīn (*Recueil*, III, 184) speak of Saladin's eagerness (*tama'*) to capture Khilāt. The eyes both of the atabeks of Azarbayjan and of the Seljuks of Rum were turned towards this key-point, which lay on the line of communications between Mesopotamia and the Araxes valley. [The Shāh-Arman died on 10/8/1185.]

The attraction of Khilāt is also demonstrated by the expedition of Saladin's nephew Taqī al-dīn who in 587/1191 occupied Ruhā and Harrān and then rushed to Mayyāfāriqīn and further to Armenia. With only 700 men he defeated Bektimur's 4000 but could not take Khilāt and his death put a stop to his adventure, see I.A., XII, 40, Abul-Fidā, ed. Reiske, IV, 112.

With the further consolidation of the Ayyūbid fiefs in Upper Mesopotamia, a new dash towards Khilāt was made by the lord of Mayyāfāriqīn, Najm al-dīn Malik al-Auḥad b. al-Malik

¹ According to I.A., XI, 322, in 579/1183 this Begtimur was sent by his former master Shāh-Arman to request Saladin to desist from attacking Mausil. Saladin procrastinated with his answer and Begtimur in anger (*ghaḍbān*) left his camp. I.A., XI, 335, suggests that the policy of Khilāt was to survive by playing one pretender against the other. When Begtimur heard of Saladin's death (4 March 1193) he manifested unbounded joy, had a throne made for himself and assumed the title of al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Ṣalāḥ al-dīn. Two months later this mock-Saladin was assassinated, see I.A., XII, 67.

al-‘Ādil (I.A., XII, 180, 184, A.F., IV, 222). By that time the situation in Khilāt had grown confused and the inhabitants invited the Artuqid of Mardin related, on his mother’s side, to the old Shāh-Arman family. The Ayyūbid Mūsā b. Malik al-‘Ādil who was ruling in Harrān grew jealous of this expansion of the Artuqids and hastened to occupy Mardin, whereas the power in Khilāt was seized by a former mamlūk of the Shah-Arman, called Balaban. In these circumstances the Ayyūbid Auḥad, who had been encroaching on the dependencies of Khilāt (e.g., Mūsh) marched against Balaban, but the latter defeated him in 603/1206–7. In the following year Auḥad, with reinforcements his father had sent him, went forth against Khilāt a second time, but again Balaban beat off his attack, with the help of the Seljukid of Erzerum Mughīth al-dīn Tughril-shāh. Immediately after, Tughril-shah slew Balaban and intended to seize Khilāt himself, but the inhabitants would not let him in and this time appealed to Auḥad who occupied the town.

The neighbouring Muslim rulers and the Georgians met the advent of the Ayyūbids with mixed feelings. Auḥad was practically a prisoner in the citadel and part of the garrison (*‘askar Khilāt*) seceded from him and seized Arjish and Van. It is clear that the Ayyūbid policy was directed from Syria for Auḥad appealed to his father Malik al-‘Ādil and the latter ordered his other son Ashraf (of Harrān and Mayyāfāriqīn) to succour Auḥad. The brothers took Van but no sooner had Ashraf returned home than a revolt broke out in Khilāt in favour of the old masters of the country and again the troops of the Jazīra went to help Auḥad.¹

Georgian raids went on. In 605 the Georgians plundered Arjish, see I.A., XII, 184. In 607/1210 Ivane Mxargrdzeli reached the walls of Khilāt but unexpectedly became the victim

¹ See I.A., XII, 168–9, 180–1. Throughout, Ibn al-Athīr (as a subject of the atabeks of Mausil) shows some hostility to the Ayyūbid intrusion. He writes: “power was unto them, and enough to the men the evil thereof.”

of his own foolhardiness. He was taken prisoner and by way of ransom had to cede several castles, to liberate 5000 Muslim prisoners and to promise the hand of his daughter (T'amt'a) to his captor.¹ Auḥad died in the same year and was succeeded by his brother Ashraf who assumed the title of Shah-Arman. It was he who married T'amt'a.²

Ashraf's domination was interrupted for four years by one of those redistributions of fiefs which were frequent among the innumerable descendants of Ayyūb and Shīrkūh. As Ashraf had no male children he appointed his brother Malik al-Muzaffar al-Ghāzī as his successor and ceded to him the remoter part of his dominions, namely Mayyāfāriqīn and Khilāt, see A.F., IV, 294 (under 617/1220). Muzaffar showed no gratitude to his benefactor and entered into a coalition against him with another brother, Malik Mua'zzam of Damascus.³

Ashraf marched straight on Khilāt which capitulated after a 10 days' siege in Jumādā II 621/May-June 1224. He received the submission of his brother but left to him only Mayyāfāriqīn, see A.F., IV, 322.

It was probably at this time that Ashraf entrusted the remote fief of Khilāt to the *ḥājib* Ḥusam al-dīn 'Alī b. Ḥammād al-Mausili, a very energetic man to whom the Ayyūbid cause owed

¹ Abul-Fidā, IV, 240. This episode has somehow got into Z. Qazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, p. 352. Ivane was drunk and fell through the gap in a bridge which the defenders had masked with straw. Ivane agreed to release Muslim prisoners, to pay a ransom (from which the walls of the fortress were repaired) and to accept a truce for many years. Cf. Brosset, I/2, 272-3, and Kirakos, trans. by Brosset, 1870, p. 82.

² Or, according to Nuwayrī (in d'Ohsson, III, 42), married her after Auḥad.

³ Simultaneously the ruler of Arbīl Kōk-būri was also intriguing against Badr al-dīn Lu'lu' of Mausil, friendly to Ashraf. Some of Badr al-dīn's correspondence with Ashraf has survived in the collection of letters of Diyā al-dīn Naṣrullāh al-Jazarī (brother of Ibn al-Athīr), see D. S. Margoliouth, 'On the "Royal Correspondence" of Eljazarī' in *Actes du X-e Congrès des Orientalistes* (1894), part III, pp. 7-21 (1897).

its greatest successes in Armenia. At this time the Seljukids of Rum were still at some distance from Erzerum, which was occupied by a rival branch of their family, and friendly relations had been established between Ashraf and the Kurdo-Armeno-Georgian rulers of Ani. Meanwhile the throne of Tabriz was occupied by the inept Özbek (607-22/1210-25)¹ and Azarbayjan was the weakest point in the Ayyūbid surroundings; consequently the *hājib* directed his energy towards the north-western tip of that province. From Nasawi we know that the fortress Shamīrān was surrendered to Ashraf by the representative of Özbek previous to the coming of the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn to Azarbayjan.²

The appearance of this intruder³ confused all the issues and very soon the behaviour of the Khwārazmshāh alarmed all his neighbours. His occupation of Azarbayjan upset the plans cherished in Khilāt. In 623/1226 Jalāl al-dīn hurried back to quell a revolt in Kirman leaving behind in Tiflis his vazir Sharaf al-mulk. The garrison lacked provisions (*mīra*) and the vazir raided the dependencies of Erzerum.⁴ As he was returning through the territories of Khilāt, the *hājib* ‘Alī attacked him and recovered the booty he was carrying away, I.A., XII, 298. This clash had important repercussions.

Jalāl al-dīn sought allies against Malik al-Ashraf in Āmid and

¹ See Minorsky, "Uzbek" in *Enc. Isl.*

² I.e. before 622/1225. Nasawi, 161 (tr. 268). Formerly the fortress *Shamīram* belonged to Vaspurakan. It lay in the canton of Čvašrot which corresponds to the present day Chors (north of Khoy), misread into *Haurech* by the translator of Nasawi. Chors is mentioned in the report of Griboyedov (during the Russo-Persian war of 1828). I visited the ruins of the fortress in 1905.

³ His contemporary Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 295, begins by extolling his triumphs over the Georgians but gradually changes his tone altogether when speaking of Jalāl's excesses in Muslim territories, XII, 307, 314.

⁴ Ruled by the Seljukid Jahān-shāh b. Tughril-shāh (622-7) who was on bad terms with the Seljukid of Rum (his cousin Kay-Qubād).

even in Damascus and these intrigues brought about the first rapprochement between Ashraf and the ruler of Rum Kay-Qubād. Both of them were anxious to dominate Armenia, but temporarily they preferred to keep out interferences from outside.

Late in 1226 Jalāl al-dīn laid siege to Ani and Qars¹ but suddenly returned to Tiflis for ten days. This he did to allay the fears of the Khilatians but the *hājib* had a secret report about his real intentions. On November 8 Jalāl was before Khilāt: in the first attack his troops entered the town but they behaved so abominably that the population ejected them and beat off a second attack. Meanwhile, heavy snow had fallen in Armenia and reports arrived from Tabriz that the Ivā Turkmans,² thinking that Jalāl was stuck fast before Khilāt, were committing all kinds of excesses in Ushnū, Urmiya and Khoy and had spread up to the walls of Tabriz. On December 15 Jalāl hastened back against the looters and utterly defeated them. As a result of Jalāl's appearance before Khilāt the Ayyūbids Ashraf and Mu'azzam (of Damascus) patched up their quarrels.

In 645/1227-8 complications with Alamūt and the arrival of Mongols in Khorasan retained Jalāl al-dīn in Persian Iraq for a considerable time, which offered new temptations to Khilāt. By that time the fickle-hearted Khwārazmshāh had lost interest in his Seljukid wife (daughter of Sultān Tughril b. Arslan) who under her first husband, the atabek Özbek, was the real ruler of Azarbayjan. Jalāl al-dīn allotted to her a special fief consisting of Khoy, Salmas and Urmiya, but Sharaf al-mulk, acting during Jalāl al-dīn's absence as his lieutenant, treated the princess very

¹ The siege was unsuccessful.

² The official ruler of this tribe was Sulaymān-shāh, lord of Bahār (near Hamadan) and later the unsuccessful defender of Baghdad against Hulagu. The Ivā tribesmen were expanding into Azarbayjan and grouping near Khoy. My belief is that in the 15th century the Ivā became the nucleus of the Qara-qoyunlu federation. See Minorsky, "The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers", in the volume presented to F. Köprülü, 1952.

discourteously. The proud lady wrote for help to the ruler of Khilat who immediately (in July–August 1227) seized upon this unexpected chance. He occupied Khoy, appointed there his own representative and returned home with the princess. Sharaf al-mulk made an attempt to take the fortress of Shamīrān but the *hājib* suddenly re-appeared with his “Syrian” troops and not only recaptured Khoy and Marand, but crossing the Araxes, took Nakhchavan whence he had also received an invitation. He was about to begin operations against Tabriz, and had it not been for the opposition of the inhabitants, Sharaf al-mulk was ready to abandon the town.¹

This zenith of the Ayyubid successes did not last long, for, with the succour sent by Jalāl al-dīn, Sharaf al-mulk managed to restore his positions in Azarbayjan. On the other hand, the Seljukid of Rum (Kay-Qubād) made a new move by occupying the principality of Arzinjān. The *hājib* rushed to the help of the ruler of Erzerum (Jahān-shāh) and in the meantime the Byzantines captured Sinop. These complications forced Kay-Qubād to return home.

For a second time Jalāl appeared in Armenia towards the end of 625/1222, after his return from Central Persia. On this occasion he plundered the country down to Mush and *Chapaljur (*ḡabal-jūr*). His devastations spread panic in Upper Mesopotamia whence an exodus began to Syria, but the winter stopped the progress of the campaign.

In 626/1229 Malik al-Ashraf became ruler of Damascus, for which he had to cede to al-Kāmil (of Egypt) his former fief in Upper Mesopotamia (Harrān, Ruhā, etc.). Khilāt apparently remained under Ashraf’s control but the displacement of the centre of gravity in his dominions must be responsible for the unexpected measure Ashraf took in dismissing his lieutenant in Khilāt, the *hājib* ‘Ali, who had rendered so many services in

¹ I.A., XII, 307; Nasawi, 154–63 (Nasawi knew I.A.’s report (p. 2) but his own account has more details); Juvayni, II, 167.

promoting the forward policy of the Ayyūbids.¹ The mamlūk ‘Izz al-dīn Aybek was appointed his successor and on his arrival arrested the *ḥājib*. Aybek wrote to Jalāl al-dīn that his predecessor was removed because he had intruded on the territories of the Sultan. Jalāl requested the surrender of the *ḥājib* to him but Aybek hastened to execute him himself.² All this did not placate Jalāl who, for a third time, appeared before Khilāt by the end of August 1229 and after a long siege took the town by storm (though apparently not without some connivance from inside) on 28 Jumādī I 627/14 March 1230.³ Another curious episode is that a former slave of the *ḥājib*, who happened to be in Jalāl’s camp, was allowed to avenge his master by killing Aybek.

Jalāl’s success alarmed the two basic candidates for domination on the Armenian plateau. The Sultan of Rum wrote to Sultan Kāmil (who was in Ḥarrān) asking him to despatch Ashraf to his help; 20,000 of the troops of Rūm joined in Sivas with 5,000 seasoned troops of Damascus commanded by a gallant Kurdish amir of Hakkārī. The allies met Jalāl al-dīn at Yasī-j.mān (**chiman*?)⁴ near Arzinjān and utterly defeated him on 28 Ramadān 627/10 August 1230. Jalāl abandoned Khilat and retreated to Khoy and further to Tabriz. The frontiers were readapted: Ashraf re-entered Khilat and Kay-Qubād took Erzerum where he deposed his cousin Jahān-shāh who was an active supporter of Jalāl.

According to Nasawi, 209, Ashraf signed a treaty with Jalāl but the latter still hoped to settle his scores with Kay-Qubād,

¹ Badr al-dīn of Mausil in his letters to Ashraf praised Ḥusām al-dīn as the man “who had saved the honour of the (Ayyūbid) house”, see Margoliouth, *l.c.*, letter IX.

² Nasawi, 182. According to I.A., XII, 317, no one could understand the reasons of the execution of this courageous general and excellent administrator.

³ Badr al-dīn’s letters referring to these events contain no fresh material, see their summary by Margoliouth, *l.c.*

⁴ Samuel, trans. by Brosset, 471: *Eas Siliman* (?)

when suddenly the whole picture changed with the arrival of Chormaghan's Mongol army. Jalāl was chased from pillar to post and in 628/1231 perished somewhere in the mountains near Mayyāfāriqīn.

As Ashraf had already ceded the eastern provinces to Kāmil and as, besides, he found Khilat ruined after the siege, he withdrew to Damascus. In 629/1231 the senior Ayyūbid Kāmil (of Egypt) with a large number of princes¹ campaigned in the east and wrested Āmid from the Artuqid Mas'ūd. Khilat was apparently neglected and this led to its occupation by the Seljuk Kay-Qubād of Rum. In any case Kāmil still considered Khilat as a part of his dominions for in 631/1234 he left Egypt to combat Kay-Qubād. The campaign was unfortunate. The passes into Rum were strongly held and near Kharpert Malik al-Muzaffar was taken prisoner by Kay-Qubād (24 Dhul-Qada 631/21 August 1233). Kharpert passed into the possession of the latter. The campaign was resumed in 632/1234-5 but with no better success, see Abul-Fidā, IV, 406. This apparently liquidated the Ayyūbid positions in Khilat.

After this down to the final occupation of Armenia by Bachu-noin in 1242-3,² the situation around Khilat is uncertain, but then we hear the last echo of the Ayyūbid dominion in Khilat.

The fate of the Seljuk princess whom the *hājib* Ali rescued from Khoy during Jalāl al-dīn's absence in Iraq is unknown. We only hear that on taking Khilat in 1230 Jalāl brutally avenged her abduction by requesting T'amt'a, the wife of Malik al-Ashraf, to appear *en tête-à-tête* in his tent.³ According to Nuwayri this offence had decided Ashraf to join Kay-Qubād in his action against Jalāl. On his flight after the defeat, Jalāl al-dīn passed by

¹ Abul-Fidā, IV, 400. Among other princes we find mentioned Ashraf of Damascus and Muzaffar of Mayyāfāriqīn.

² Vardan, in Brosset, I/2, 308.

³ Juvaynī, II, 176-7: *khalvat*; cf. Nuwayri quoted in D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, III, 42.

Khilat and took the Georgian princess (*al-Kurjiyya*) with him to Azarbayjan.¹ Thence T'amt'a must have escaped to join her brother Avag. She was in his fortress (Kayan) when the latter was taken by the troops of Chormaghan in 1239, after which we hear of her presence at the court of Ögedey-khan. She is said to have returned from Mongolia with the envoy of queen Rusudan (prince "Hamadola"). According to Abul-Fidā, IV, 472, the Tatars occupied Khilāt and Āmid after the defeat of Sultan Ghiyāth al-dīn Kay-Khusrau of Rum in 641/1243. The Mongol generals recognized the rights of T'amt'a as the wife of Malik al-Ashraf² and restored to her Khilāt and its territory.³

Thus the aged lady who had been given away to a Muslim, to atone for the foolhardiness of her father, who lived through the siege of Khilat, who had experienced the brutality of Jalāl al-dīn, who vainly sought shelter from the Mongols in her native country, who traversed the innumerable stages of a journey from Transcaucasia to Mongolia, remained in Khilat for a time as a symbol of the short-lived contact achieved by the Ayyūbids with the country of their forefathers.

ADDENDA

ad p. 148

Recently H. A. R. Gibb, *Speculum*, Jan. 1950, pp. 58-78, has suspected Ibn al-Athīr of partiality in practically all the points in which his statements diverge from those of Bahā al-dīn, and 'Imād al-dīn. It is true that both Bahā al-dīn and Ibn al-Athīr were in Mosul when Saladin besieged the town, but the former soon passed into Saladin's service, whereas the latter remained

¹ Nuwayri in d'Ohsson, III, 45.

² Ashraf died in Muḥarram 635 (began on 24 August 1237). He had reigned in Damascus for over 8 years and his age was about sixty. He left only one daughter, see Abul-Fidā, 424, who concludes: "things happened to him which baffled human understanding".

³ Kirakos of Ganja quoted in Brosset, I/1, 505-6, 515.

faithful to his native province, even though he followed Saladin's campaign in Palestine on the spot. Ibn al-Athīr acknowledges his indebtedness to 'Imād al-dīn's *Barq al-shāmī* at least twice, XI, 285, and XII, 36. Of course his "Mosulian" point of view must be taken into consideration but not to the point of discrediting the testimony of this conscientious historian. The official historiographer of the Khwārazmshāhs, Nasawī, p. 2, found that in his field his contemporary Ibn al-Athīr "had omitted nothing serious and had committed only slight mistakes".

Prof. Gibb's occasional remarks on the Kurds in his second, richly documented, article (quoted above on p. 146) might also be confronted with the moral standards of the age and with the tenor of the facts adduced in the body of our Annex I.

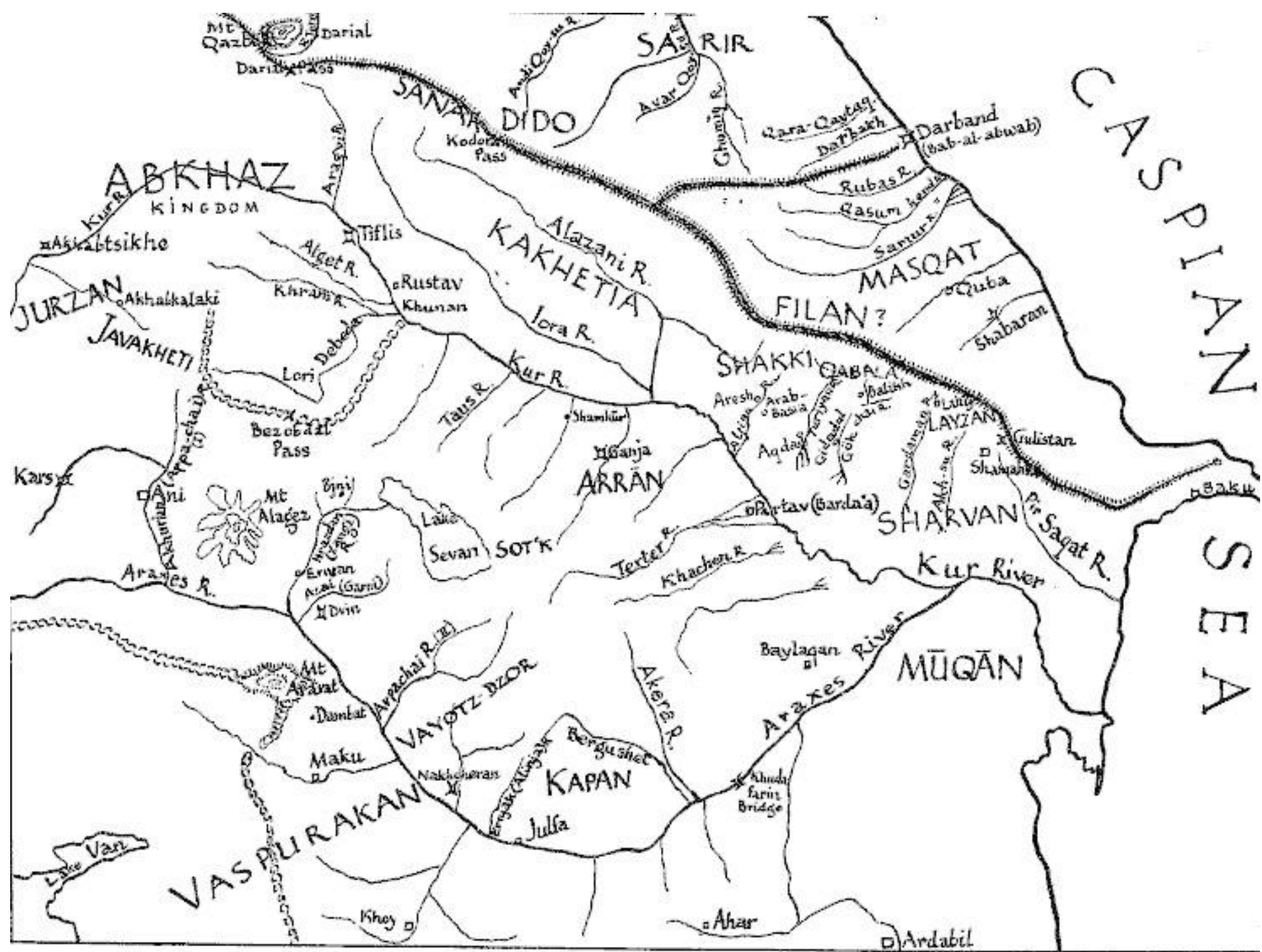
ad p. 122-3

The Armenian tradition on the Rawwādis (Asolik), cf. Kasravi, II, 1929, differs considerably from the data of Mūnejjim-bashī, now presented for the first time (see below, p. 167). The chart and the chronology need further consideration.

ad p. 136

Al-Fāriqī, f. 162a, as an eye-witness (548/1153), gives an astonishing picture of the relations which king Dimitri established with his new Muslim subjects in Tiflis. He even attended the Friday prayers at their mosque. See my translation in *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, 34.

P.S. I am grateful to Mr. G. M. Wickens for checking the copy of the essay on Saladin.



Eastern Transcaucasia in the 10th century.